

FINAL REPORT
ON THE
SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS

IN THE
CHAMPARAN DISTRICT,

1892 to 1899.

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FINAL REPORT

ON THE

SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS

IN THE

DISTRICT OF CHAMPARAN.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN the final report of the Muzaffarpur Settlement operations, the extent to which the Champaran final report is subsidiary to it has been described. In the latter, problems of general interest and wide questions of policy will be either omitted altogether or dealt with very cursorily; but matters on which the Champaran operations, by virtue of the peculiar economic characteristics of the district have thrown a special light, will receive due prominence. Speaking more generally, both reports are drawn up on the same plan. They consist of two parts. The first part is occupied with general matters of economic interest and with a historical sketch of Land Revenue administration in the district. The second part is confined to an account of the Survey and Settlement operations recently brought to a conclusion.

PART I.—GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.

THE agricultural development of the district of Champaran is of comparatively recent date; indeed, the process of reclamation still goes on. Its name denotes that it was formerly one vast jungle, *aranya* or forest of *champak*, a wild flowering plant. In the Vishnu and other Purans mention is often made of a "Champakaranya" alongside of the Shalagrami or Namayani river, which is another name for the Gandak, and the context warrants a belief that it is this district, or a portion of it, that is there referred to. According to the descriptions of "Champakaranya" contained in ancient writings, it was but a place of retreat for Hindu ascetics, where, removed from worldly ambitions, surrounded by the silence of a vast untrodden forest, they could contemplate to the full the Eternal Presence.

2. The present district of Champaran consists of only three large parganas, which, however, are split up into *tappas*, and the tappa is the fiscal division most used and best understood in the district. If, then, as Pandit Rama Ballabh Misra holds, this fiscal term is identical with the Sanskrit word *tapas*, meaning the abode of spiritual meditation, the opinion that the predominant idea in olden time associated Champaran with a place of religious sanctuary obtains strong corroboration. And this opinion will bear a good deal of scrutiny. For tradition has it that Tappa *Duho Suho* was originally the *tapoban* or forest of spiritual meditation of Dhruba, who was connected with the story of Raja Uttanpada and his two wives, popularly known as the Du and Su Ranis; and it is after the two wives that it is now called. Again, all the *tappas* of the district, with rare exceptions, have names peculiarly Hindu and associated with some Hindu sage, like Chanki, Deoraj, Mando, Sugaon, Jambauli, &c., &c., and the whole district is dotted over with places held in religious esteem as the traditional abodes of Hindu ascetics. Thus Valmiki, in whose *asrama* or hermitage Sita, the banished spouse of Rama, is said to have

taken shelter, is reported to have resided near Sangrampur, and the village is believed to be indebted, for its name, to the famous fight between Rama and his two sons, Lawa and Kusha. This took place in the second of the four Hindu mythological cycles, viz., Satyuga, Treta, Dwapara, and Kalyuga. For the third cycle also tradition preserves a characteristic reference to this district. In the Mahabharata it is described how the Pandavas had ultimately to take a vow of spending twelve years in exile, one year of which they had to live strictly *incognito* on pain of having to repeat the exile in case of recognition. We are also told that this vow was successfully kept, the last and most critical year having been spent in the kingdom of Virat. The popular belief here is that that kingdom lay in this district; and its capital, where the five brothers resided a year, was situated at or near a village called Vairati, 6 or 7 miles west of Ramnagar. I refer to this tradition as indicating how even after portions had been reclaimed by a settled society, the district generally was far removed from the recognised haunts of Hindu social life. Indeed, even in later times, a portion of this tract seems to have served a somewhat similar purpose. Mr. Wyatt, the Revenue Surveyor of 1845, says:—

"In tappah Rajpur Sehoria, on the borders of the saul forest, are to be seen the ruins of the Bawangarhi, or ancient remains of 52 forts. It is said to have been the residence of Raja 'Burrah,' who is supposed to have been contemporaneous with the Rajas of Semrown-garh and Nawnidhgarh of Lauria Bazar. From the appearance of the country, and the immense forest round the "Bawangarhi," we would suppose that Raja Burrah must have built this fortress in the wilds of Rajpur Sehoria as a retreat for himself and his followers from the invasions or depredations of his more powerful neighbours of Semrown and Lauria to the south-east, and the hill tribes of Nipal and Bhutival to the north and north-west."

3. There is therefore good reason to believe that in old Hindu times this district was regarded merely as a place of religious retreat, and no attempt was made to extend to it a settled administration. In the words of the poet Kalidas, the revenue that the kings appear to have been content to levy from this portion of their charge was a certain share in the spiritual acquisitions of the hermits in return for the peaceful protection they enjoyed.

There are not many remains of the Hindu Government which must eventually have extended to this region. At Kesaria there is a lofty brick mound topped by a solid brick tower. The brick tower is said to date from 200—700 A.D., but the mound is of an earlier period, and is associated with the name of Raja Ben Chakravarti, a traditional Emperor of India. At Lauria there are very extensive remains consisting of three rows of huge conical mounds. General Cunningham considered them to be sepulchral mounds belonging to the period antecedent to the rise of Buddhism, and places their date somewhere between 1500 and 600 B.C.

4. Coming down to the Buddhistic period, we must conclude that the district had meanwhile developed considerable social and administrative life. Were it otherwise, pillars proclaiming Asoka's edicts would not now be found at Lauriya and Arriraj.

5. After Buddhism had lost its influence, a powerful Hindu dynasty seems to have ruled at Semraon, on the borders of Nipal, where extensive ruins still remain. According to tradition this dynasty of kings ruled from 1097 A.D. until 1322, when Harsinh Deo, the last of the line, was driven out by the Muhammadans. Semraon has given its name to one of the parganas in this district.

6. What is known of the administration of this district during Muhammadan times can be more fittingly set forth in the subsequent chapter dealing with its revenue history. I have sketched its earlier history (so far as the very meagre materials available admit) because the situation of this district removed from the successive streams of civilising influences, and its so recent introduction to any form of settled government, are important causes of the present backwardness and improvidence of its people.

Sirkar Champaran was subordinate to Sirkar Saran from Muhammadan times until 1866, when it was elevated to the rank of a separate district. It now forms the extreme north-western portion of the Patna Division and of

the territories under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It is bounded on the north by Nipal, the frontier line running along the summit of the Sameswar range; on the east, first by the Nipal terai, and then by the district of Muzaffarpur, the Baghmata river forming the natural boundary for about 35 miles; on the south by the districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran, and on the west by the districts of Saran and Gorakhpur. The Gandak river forms the natural boundary for the greater part of the distance on the western side, but a tract known as tappa Manpur Chaudand, consisting of 35 villages, and forming the police outpost of Dhanaba, attached to the Bagaha thana, lies on the western side of the river.

7. The total area of the district is 3,531 square miles, but of this, a tract of hill and jungle on the north-west was excluded from the scope of our operations under the Tenancy Act, and was only topographically surveyed. In addition to this an area of 30 square miles comprising 14 villages, which are situated on the western side of the river Gandak, and are in the criminal jurisdiction of the Gopalganj subdivision of the district of Saran, though they are within the revenue jurisdiction of Champaran, have been treated for the purposes of survey and settlement as belonging to the Saran district. Consequently the area dealt with in the present report comprises only 2,079,811 acres, or about 3,250 square miles.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.

8. The general aspect of the greater part of the district is similar to that of the rest of North Bihar. In the south and east, the country is level, highly cultivated, and well wooded.

Physical features.

North of Sagauli, however, the area of waste land becomes much greater, and in the extreme north-west, just below the hills, the cultivated area becomes very sparse. Details of area under cultivation in different parts of the district will be given in the chapter on statistics. North of Ramnagar the country begins to undulate, until the area known as the Dun is reached. This consists of a range of low hills stretching for a distance of about 20 miles from east to west, and four or five miles in breadth. It is sparsely inhabited by an aboriginal tribe known as the Tharus, who carry on a good deal of cultivation in the valleys between the hills. North of the Dun hills lies the Sameswar range, the ridge of which forms the boundary between British territory and Nipal. The range extends to a length of about 46 miles, the highest point, Sameswar, being 2,884 feet above sea level. The hills are mostly covered with fine trees, but in places are barren and rocky. The population is scanty and consists chiefly of labourers employed in cutting timber and collecting jungle products. Leopards are not uncommonly met with in places, and a tiger has been shot near Harnatar within the last few years. There are fine passes across the range into Nipal, the chief are those of Sameswar and Bhiknathori. The scenery in the Sameswar pass is very striking.

9. Referring more particularly to the three parganas into which, as I have said above, the district is divided, we find parganas Mehari and Semraon, almost coextensive as they are with thanas Madhubani and Dhaka respectively, cover a long narrow strip of land, running from the confines of Nipal on the north to the borders of Tirhut on the south, and separated from the latter on the east by the Baghmata and from the neighbouring pargana of Majhawa, on the west by the Tiar and Burri Gandak. In density of population, fertility of soil, abundance of rice-fields, and absence of uncultivated wastes, they are similar to the adjoining tract of Tirhut; and even the language spoken in this area is very closely allied to Tirhutia. The similarity is most marked in the southern pargana of Mehari, and is less distinguishable as we proceed northwards to the Nipal Terai. These two sister parganas trace the origin of their names to opposite sources.

10. Semraon, as I have said, derived its name from a Hindu principality established at a village of that name now lying within the limits of Nipal;

whereas Mehshi is associated with a Musalman legend. It is believed that there was a Hindu Sadhu by name Mahesh Koiri, whose distinguishing characteristic was that he lived solely on milk. One Halim Shah, a Muhammadan emperor, having turned fakir, came from the west to see the Hindu Sadhu and was astounded to see him extract milk from a heifer for his refreshment. Needless to say the Muhammadan magnate was much impressed by Mahesh Koiri's accomplishment and caused the tract to be named after him. This legend has, however, not been without a certain practical utility, for to this day there exist a Hindu *mandap* and a Musalman *dargah*, which were built side by side in the village of Mehshi under the express orders of Halim Shah, and all who would show honour to the one are asked to show equal honor to the other. The village was long a seat of a Musalman kazi, and in latter days a Munsif's Court was for a time located there. It is one of the few important Muhammadan villages in the district. It contains also a certain proportion of Hindus, but the two sects have been true to their traditions and live on terms of great amity.

11. The two parganas of Mehshi and Semraon account for the area of only two rather small thanas. The rest of the district is contained in the immense pargana of Majhawa; its northern and north-western boundaries march with Nipal, and the Gandak separates it from Raj Bhutwal of that State, and from the districts of Gorakhpur and Saran on the south-west and south. This enormous pargana can be divided into two portions, marked by a different degree of fertility; the portion of the east comprises the thanas of Adapur, Motihari, Kesaria, Govindganj and Bettia with small portions of Bagaha and Shikarpur, while the major portion of the two very extensive thanas last named comprise the portion to the west. Mr. Wyatt, the Revenue Surveyor, writing in 1845 described the chief physical feature of these two portions thus:—

“To the east the country partakes of the soil and climate of Mehshi and Tirhut, where indigo and poppy are grown in great abundance, and where the soil is rich and capable of producing almost every description of crop. There are small tracts of low jungle here and there along the banks of rivulets and streams, except in tappa Duho Suho, where there are larger tracts of low jungle adjoining the Nipal territory; and plots of high grass jungle are to be found throughout these minor subdivisions of Majhawa. The country to the west and north-west of Bettiah is not so well cultivated nor so populous as the eastern parts of Majhawa, and in tappas Chengwan Batsara and Manpur Chaudand about one-third of the land is waste and unproductive. The northern portion is chiefly covered with high grass, which is cut and conveyed to Bettiah, Segauli, etc., and otherwise appropriated for grazing cattle, while the southern part of these tappas are chiefly waste, covered with large patches of jhow, reed jungle, and the mimosa catechu, from which a large quantity of catechu is made and sold at Bettiah, Gorakhpur and Patna.”

12. I may incidentally remark here that the village Majhawa, which gives the name to the pargana, falls within the southern tract of “jhow and reed jungle,” having its name perhaps from the “jhau” or wild reed so conspicuous in waste diara tracts; just as the district itself appears to have been called after the *Champaka*, another product of an uncultivated region. One more remarkable feature of this tract deserves mention:—“Along the borders of tappas Bahas and Balthur,” writes Mr. Wyatt, “there can be seen a large swamp, called Bhas by the natives, a genuine bog during the greater portion of the year, impassable not only by human beings, but also by animals.” This unpromising marsh, however, produces very abundant rice, the seed being thrown broadcast into the mud from canoes. The crop is cut in the cold weather, being approached in the same manner. Even in the hot weather the prudent wayfarer feels his way with a stick or bamboo over the treacherous ground, so that it will be readily understood what great difficulties the Bhas swamp presented to the Survey Department. It fell into several villages. The portion comprised in each village was surveyed in a single plot without division according to holdings; one number was assigned to it and repeated in the khatian of every raiyat possessing an interest, the individual area in each case being noted in the “remarks” column.

13. The most important river in the district is the Gandak, which is navigable for ordinary country boats as far as Bagaha throughout the year. Shoals and rapids prevent boats of any size from proceeding above Bagaha. The bed of the

Rivers.

Gandak is higher than the level of the surrounding country, which is, however, protected from flood by an embankment extending continuously from a point just south of Bagaha to where the Gandak joins the Ganges at Sonapur. The Buri-Gandak, locally known as the Sikrahna, rises in the western extremity of the Sameswar range, and flows in a south-easterly direction through the district, dividing it into two clearly defined tracts, the north-eastern portion being, generally speaking, low paddy land unfit for the cultivation of indigo or important *rabi* crops, while the south-western portion contains a much larger proportion of uplands. During the first part of its course, until it turns southwards at Lakhaura, north of Motihari, the Sikrahna is joined by about 12 important hill streams which are much used for irrigation. The control of the water-supply on some of them is, however, dependent on the Nipalese, who not unfrequently, by erecting embankments for their own use in Nipalese territory, stop the flow of the water at critical times.

14. Between the Sikrahna and the Gandak, the only important rivers are the Lalbeghia and the Dhanauti. The former flows into the Gandak to the north of Gobindganj. The latter was formerly a branch of the Lalbeghia, but its upper reaches have silted up, and it is now a sluggish stream falling into the Sikrahna to the east of Pipra Factory. The area on its banks is reported to be very unhealthy, and a large tract of country to the north-west of Motihari is uninhabited on this account. A project was mooted during the recent famine for reopening the connection which undoubtedly once existed between the Gandak and the Dhanauti, so as to ensure a flow of water along the bed of the latter, and thus render the neighbouring country more healthy; but it unfortunately came to nothing.

15. Among minor streams, may also be noted the Tiar, which divides tappa Duho Suho from pargana Sonraon and feeds the only canal, called the Tiar canal, in the district. The Pasáh which divides Bahás from Duho Suho; and the Uriya and the Pandeyi, which form the natural boundary between Nipal and this district for a considerable distance, also deserve mention. Then come the Pachnad, the Harha, the Sona Nadi and numerous other small rivulets, from which gold dust used at one time to be washed and collected. Mr. Wyatt opined that the gold dust was washed by the rivers out of the second and third ridges within the British territory. He added:—

“From the peculiar formation of these hills, which here become more rugged and fearfully precipitous, with light and scattered jungles about them, I am led to conclude that veins of gold may be discovered within these hills, which would amply compensate the Government for deputing a geologist and mineralogist to carry on his researches through this very interesting part of Champaran, viz., the Doon valley.”

16. The only other remarkable physical feature of Champaran is the chain of lakes, forty-three in number, which runs through the centre of the district. The most important of these are at Lalsaraya, Sugaon, Turkaulia, Motihari, Pipra, Siraha, Nawada and Tetaria. They evidently mark the course of what was once an important river. Indigo factories are built on the banks of most of them. The water never entirely dries up, but is considered very unhealthy. The fishery rights are of considerable value, though the fish caught have an unpleasant and muddy taste.

SOILS.

17. One of the oldest descriptions on record of the soil of the district, occurs in a report submitted to the Government of the Earl of Moira in 1815, by the Collector of Saran, when Saran and Champaran formed one zilla. It runs thus:—

“The general soil of the district of Saran is a mixture of sand and clay, that of Champaran in the parts most cultivated common earth only, but from a considerable portion of the district being still overrun with jungle, it is not ascertained of what quality it is chiefly composed.

• • • • •
Champaran is, on the whole, productive, but agriculture there being backward, and civilization less perfect, from its vicinity to the hills, the defect is rather to be attributed to these causes than to that of the soil.”

This shows how little was known of Champaran at that time. The Collector avoided committing himself by describing its soil as "common earth." With the Gandak flowing between the two districts, and in the rains, the country inundated on either side, small wonder, if the Collector of Saran's knowledge of the Sirkar of Champaran was of the flimsiest nature. To do the Collector justice, he had a belief in its fertility which later observations have served to confirm.

18. To the modern observer, the district appears to be divided into two well-defined tracts, by the Sikrahna, which traverses it from north-east to south-west; but the difference between these tracts is not confined to soil alone.

19. In the northern tract, the soil is mainly hard clay, locally called *bangar*, which requires irrigation, and is eminently suited for rice cultivation. If winter rice be grown only one crop is obtained, but the soil which grows autumn rice, will also furnish a spring crop of oilseeds or pulses; and the extent to which autumn rice is grown in this district, especially in the Adapur thana, is very remarkable. The places most suitable for its growth are low marshy lands where water lies, and the species grown are those which, no matter how high the water rises, are always to be seen above it. Cultivators harvesting their crops in autumn in boats is a common enough sight in Bengal; but Champaran is, I think, the only Bihar district where it will be met with to any extent.

20. The soil next in importance found in the northern tract is called *babhani*—a thin loam—of light colour (the word is said to be derived from Brahmin). It is seldom sown with rice. Its chief products are maize, barley, gram, other pulses and oilseeds. The only other kind of soil found here that I need mention is *balua* or *baldhus*, a light, loose soil, in which sand predominates as its name denotes. It stands lowest in the scale of fertility; for only maize or inferior millets can be grown on it.

21. While, then, the northern tract is a great paddy-producing area, the southern tract, on the other hand, is characterised by a predominance of upland or *bhith*, as it is styled, in contradistinction to paddy lands which are called *dhanahar*. Frequently, however, it is varied by stretches of *bangar*, notably in thanas Gobindganj and Kesaria, where the frequency of large tracts of marshy lands or *chaurs* suitable for paddy is a striking physical feature.

22. The upland which is the predominant soil in this area is composed of fine light sand and clay. It is often impregnated with saline matter, more particularly towards the west, where a fair amount of trade in extracting saltpetre is still carried on. "The subsoil is generally a tenacious clay, often quite black; and below this again, sand is struck." The upland or *uparwar*, as it is termed by the inhabitants, can be divided into the following sub-classes:—

- (a) *Dhobini* ("bleached") which corresponds to *babhani* of the northern tract. This soil produces all autumn and spring crops.
- (b) *Goenda*, or upland, close to village sites, and specially manured with cowdung for special crops, like wheat and opium. When tending to exhaustion from continuous cultivation, it is left fallow for four months during the rains, and is then called *chaumas*. The *goenda* lands are consequently by far the most productive in the district, and are much sought after by the Opium Department and indigo planters. They are usually parcelled out into small plots, and almost every holding will be found to contain a portion of *goenda*.
- (c) *Bhath*, and more properly *Bahath*, means literally land periodically visited by flood. It is especially enriched by the fertilizing deposit of silt brought down by the floods, and is consequently very retentive of moisture. Sugarcane and root-crops (*i.e.*, yams, potatoes, &c.) grow abundantly on it. It is necessarily found on riversides. In the famine of 1897, by producing an abundance of yams and common root-crops, it helped largely to alleviate the distress.
- (d) *Baldhus*, already described above.

(c) *Dhsb*—low sandy lands on the riverside, which stagnant flood water converts into marsh. In these a kind of coarse paddy, called *bore dhan*, is grown which is harvested in June or July.

23. Generally speaking, then, the northern area is a paddy-producing tract, while the southern grows millets, pulses, cereals and oilseeds. Indigo cultivation, too, is almost entirely confined to the southern tract, and the few indigo factories found in the north are mainly distinguished for carrying on a brisk trade in rice on a peculiar system which will be fully discussed later on..

24. From this it follows that the northern tract, though very rich and fertile, is in the absence of artificial irrigation, mostly dependent for its crop on a seasonable monsoon, and falls within the grip of famine on its failure. During the last great famine, the rice-producing areas of Ramnagar and Dhaka were the first to succumb to its effects, and the last to recover. Thana Adapur, equally a rice-producing area, but for which artificial irrigation was obtained by drawing upon the hill streams, remained unaffected.

25. The southern tract, on the other hand, is comparatively safe owing to the variety of its crops, but here again, owing to an absence of irrigation, there is widespread failure when the seasons are unfavourable.

26. It is usual to attribute the neglect of well-irrigation to the apathy of the people, their blind and indolent disposition, and want of enterprise. No doubt there is much in this reason, but the other side of the question must also be considered. During the famine of 1897 every encouragement, pecuniary or otherwise, was held out to the people to induce them to dig temporary wells, but without very marked results. The cause Mr. D. J. Macpherson, C.I.E., the Collector of the district, explained thus:—

"Irrigation is seldom, if ever practised, in the loam soils, even where water can be had at a convenient level from wells or other sources. The cultivators believe that, where the soil is saliferous (as much of this is) irrigation brings up inferior salts, and elsewhere (apparently through some action on the texture of the soil, impairing its retentiveness of moisture), that if once begun, it must be continued for years."

27. Irrigation, however, is practised in the loam soils of other districts which are saliferous, but where, owing to the paucity of moisture, the necessity for it is always greater, thus accustoming the people to its use. No doubt it would be introduced in Champaran, too, were the need greater and more often recurring, and the cultivators less ignorant and indolent. But in ordinary years this district is blessed with fertility and natural moisture to an extent unequalled by any other district in Bihar, and if its peasantry are idle and indolent, it is largely because they can in normal years raise crops with so much ease and so little exertion.

RAINFALL.

28. Rainfall, as I have implied in my comments on the soils of the district, is the most important factor in the agricultural economy of Champaran. Its importance cannot be better emphasised than by the following quotation from Mr. Macpherson's famine report:—

"The famine in Champaran was brought about by deficient and unfavourably distributed rainfall in 1895 and 1896."

29. The figures below show the normal distribution of rainfall over the several months of the year:—

January	...	67	July	...	11.57
February	...	38	August	...	11.94
March	...	37	September	...	9.30
April	...	77	October	...	3.54
May	...	2.59	November02
June	...	8.19	December21
			Grand Total	...	49.65

Grand Total	...	49 65
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The heaviest fall comes between June and September, when it is required by both the autumn and winter crops. Substantial rain is also required in May and October, in May for the sowing of autumn crops and in October to bring the *aghani* paddy to maturity and to supply moisture for the sowing of spring crops. From November onwards light showers are useful to maintain moisture, but not very essential.

30. Unfortunately, however, the rainfall of the district is extremely capricious, sometimes varying very widely from the normal. The normal rainfall given above also differs considerably from that noted for 1874 by Sir A. P. MacDonnell, as the following comparative table will show :—

YEAR.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1874	0.3	0.4	1.50	0.6	2.08	8.33	11.75	13.30	11.28	6.16	0.	0.24	54.80
1890	0.7	0.38	0.87	0.77	2.59	8.10	11.57	11.94	9.30	3.54	0.02	0.21	49.55

The difference of 7.25 inches in the totals is remarkable. It is mainly accounted for by the months of September and October, the normal total for these two months in 1874 being 20.09, against 12.84 now. If it is true that the rainfall of these two important months is growing lighter, it is a very evil sign. The normal for March in 1874 too was one inch higher than now.

The subdivisional rainfall.

31. The present normal figures for the two subdivisions are as under :—

NAME OF SUBDIVISION.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Bettiah	0.09	0.41	0.37	0.76	2.68	8.40	12.69	12.55	9.44	3.59	0.02	0.24	51.78
Sadar	0.05	0.35	0.37	0.78	2.50	7.80	10.45	11.53	9.10	3.40	0.02	0.18	47.37
Average	0.07	0.38	0.37	0.77	2.59	8.10	11.57	11.94	9.30	3.54	0.02	0.21	49.55

The Bettiah subdivision returns 4.36 more inches for the year than the Sadar subdivision. Almost every month of the year contributes to this excess.

32. The monthly rainfall registered at Motihari during the last 16 years is given in the following table :—

YEARS.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1895	1.72	0.00	...	1.40	2.45	5.34	10.04	15.59	7.8	0.03	...	...	39.27
1894	Nil	Nil	Nil	0.43	1.50	10.77	9.84	7.24	12.97	0.77	...	...	43.44
1893	0.31	...	0.27	0.02	1.02	5.72	20.40	10.51	16.76	0.02	...	1.21	60.10
1892 ... ..	...	0.08	0.23	0.11	4.20	4.11	12.00	15.00	13.17	3.03	...	0.60	55.07
1891	1.30	...	0.82	2.70	2.70	16.40	6.02	11.70	14.65	7.21	...	...	61.90
1890	0.85	...	...	0.14	2.74	6.94	12.30	7.32	6.71	...	...	...	55.08
1889	2.55	1.27	0.04	...	0.52	23.80	24.02	7.80	18.33	0.36	0.23	...	75.46
1888	0.30	...	0.19	...	7.00	11.40	24.30	12.66	10.66	6.46	...	...	75.54
1887	1.16	0.02	3.08	...	0.79	8.78	9.90	14.63	4.14	3.08	...	...	53.96
1886 ... ..	...	0.11	...	1.6	3.64	15.80	19.14	24.18	6.06	...	...	...	66.97
1885	0.68	1.00	0.20	2.41	2.58	12.76	21.92	10.17	17.07	8.40	0.10	...	66.69
1884 ... ..	...	1.72	0.13	0.05	0.87	7.94	6.30	17.89	5.06	5.91	2.91	...	66.91
1883	0.47	0.06	0.03	0.03	5.92	7.84	22.04	14.45	12.12	0.23	...	0.37	64.99
1882	0.03	...	...	1.50	6.72	10.61	9.78	1.74	...	...	0.03	0.34	50.64
1881	0.25	0.15	1.38	1.53	0.84	8.73	9.04	5.31	9.94	6.73	...	...	61.90
1880	0.32	1.40	0.02	0.1	3.80	6.90	8.37	12.10	30.88	0.25	...	0.02	66.61

33. The total annual fall ranges between 88.63 in 1893 and 30.84 in 1896, the normal being 49.55. 1883 and 1884 were years of deficient rainfall but were followed by three consecutive years of very abundant rain reaching

the maximum (61·80) in 1887. In 1888, however, there is a sudden drop to 38·63, followed by an equally unusual rise to 78·44 in 1889. The record of 88·63 was reached in 1893. In 1894, again the fall was slightly short, succeeded by an abnormal rise to 61·92 in 1895. In the year that led to the great famine, 1896, the total fall was only 30·84 inches.

34. Taking individual months too the variations are most startling. The critical months of the year are June to October. The rainfall very capricious. Now the normal fall for June is 8·19, but in June 1886 only 4·11 inches fell, while 22·39 inches were recorded in the corresponding month of 1889. Similarly July varies between 6·30 of 1894 and 31·92 of 1893, against the normal fall of 11·57. Perhaps September is the most capricious of all going so low as ·78 in 1883, whilst rising to 29·88 in 1896, against the normal 9·30. Extreme variations are noticeable in every month with the results that even where the total rainfall reaches the normal it may be so unseasonably distributed as to cause acute distress. The following quotation from Mr. Macpherson's report fully illustrates this point:—

“Although the rainfall of 1895 to 1896 was above the normal by 17·5 per cent, it was badly distributed. It was on the whole favourable for the crops until August, but it ceased prematurely, none falling after the 21st of September and not even in the *batkya* asterism when good rain is considered essential for the autumn rice crop, and for providing moisture for the *rabi* and indigo crops. There was moreover practically no rain at all throughout the cold weather, the total fall from October to March inclusive, amounting to only half an inch.”

35. In both the famine years 1873-74 and 1896-97, there were serious deficiencies in the rainfall, from May to October 14·10 inches, or 30 per cent., below the normal in the former, and 19·19 inches, or over 40 per cent., in the latter. As Mr. Macpherson puts it—“The inevitable results in both the cases were acute, widespread and long distress.”

36. The rainfall of the Champaran district is heavier than that of any other district of the Bihar Division. Owing to this and to the general character of the soil, the Champaran raiyats place a most absolute reliance on it, and make little effort towards extraneous means to guard against its failure. But it is very capricious, and though as a consequence distress pays periodical visits to the more susceptible parts of the district, the cultivators are not spurred into effort and their absolute faith in the monsoon's beneficence remains unshaken. No wonder then that the records of the rain-gauge are most anxiously watched by the Collector of Champaran.

CLIMATE.

37. Champaran has earned the reputation of having one of the worst climates in Bihar. But this is true only to a very limited extent. Barring Ramnagar, and its notoriously unhealthy neighbourhood, the Terai of thanas Bagaha and Sikarpur, the district generally enjoys a pleasant and cool climate. From November to March it is very cold; but cloudy skies and cold weather showers are more frequent than in districts further removed from the hills. This is the characteristic noticeable throughout the year. The rainfall is heavier, and the climate of Champaran is damper, and therefore cooler than that of the sister districts of North Bihar. I need not describe the nature of the seasons, but one word is necessary regarding the evil reputation for unhealthiness from which the northern area suffers. How evil that reputation is, the following legend sufficiently illustrates: Once a stalwart *pahlyan*, an athlete, came to the Darbar of the Raja of Ramnagar or Bettiah, and boasted of his prowess, saying he would defeat all the *pahlyans* in the Raja's service. On this the Raja asked him to wait for six months, after which period a match would be arranged at which he might vindicate his boast. To this the stranger agreed; so he was told off to live in a Terai village, where he soon contracted fever. At the end of six months he reappeared before the Raja pale, weak and emaciated, admitted that he had been defeated by the greatest *pahlyan* in the Raja's service—fever—and implored permission to return to his home.

38. The most unhealthy period of the year is October—November, when a north wind blows off the hills. Its advent is invariably signalled by an

outbreak of malarial fever, and it was on this account found impossible during settlement operations, to start field work in this area earlier than December.

Indeed, special arrangements for the supply of quinine and similar anti-fever medicines had to be made for the camps that did eventually go out.

39. Admitting that there are parts of the district that give colour to the legend quoted above, we are now mainly concerned with the practical question whether the district is growing healthier, and this question can, I am glad to say, be decisively answered in the affirmative. As cultivation, accompanied by the eradication of noxious growths and by improved drainage, spreads further north, it steadily but surely drives fever back before it. The European planters who live in this area are, I believe, unanimous in the opinion that the improvement in its general healthiness during the last 20 years is quite extraordinary. The prospects for the further development of the agricultural capabilities of this area in the future are very hopeful.

40. The following is a comparative statement of maximum and minimum temperatures for the year 1874, and the average for the years 1896, 1897 and 1898:—

Temperature.

Month.	TEMPERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1874.		TEMPERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1898.	
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.
1	2	3	4	5
January ...	69	49	78	40
February ...	74	61	81	44
March ...	83	63	99	44
April ...	87	73	105	61
May ...	94	79	104	66
June ...	89	80	97	72
July ...	89	81	93	76
August ...	89	81	92	75
September ...	90	76	78	71
October ...	86	74	91	58
November ...	81	62	96	53
December ...	71	51	76	43
Average ...	83.5	69.2	91.25	58.58

41. Assuming that in both years the methods of observation were proper, is a remarkable fact that for every month, the maximum temperatures of 1898 were higher than those of 1874, while the minimum were lower, and the range of variation therefore very much greater. This seems to be a marked phenomenon of recent years.

COMMUNICATIONS.

42. As in every other respect, so in the matter of communications also, the district presents a record of steady progress. A brief description, from old correspondence, of the state of communication at the beginning of this century will not be without interest, and will afford a striking contrast to the present accessibility of the district, which enabled Government, during the recent famine, to rely entirely on the natural action of trade to supply the food required by the inhabitants.

43. In 1794 the Collector of Saran and Champaran made the following report to the Board in regard to communications in the northern portion of his charge:—

"The road from hence (Chapra), through the upper part of the district, to Sirkar Champaran is so bad during the rains that the passengers are obliged to wade in many places up to their waists in water. This road, I am informed, may be made passable with convenience at all seasons of the year by a few embankments being thrown up, and ditches made across the road, with bridges thrown over them to let the water off."

We find no mention of any other road in Champaran in the report, a striking instance of the disadvantages and neglect from which Champaran suffered by its amalgamation to a district, from the head-quarters of which it was far distant and well-nigh inaccessible.

44. Seven years later in 1800, we find another Collector submitting a similar report, which he prefaced with the following characteristic remark :—

Roads in 1800.

“As far as my local knowledge and enquiries extend, it does not appear that there are any roads in this district, except one commencing from the ghut of Cherawn to Goodnah.”

45. Both the last named places are in Saran; but from the recommendations made by him in the same report, it is clear that the Collector, while speaking of the whole district, had also Sirkar Champaran in view, and by roads he meant passable roads. Thus it is certain that at the beginning of the century Champaran had no road worth the name. But the Collector, “with a view to encourage a greater intercourse in trade with the inhabitants of Nipal and those of the hills situated in the northwards of this district,” held “it an object of great importance that the roads from and to these stations be rendered more convenient and easy of access.” The following were his recommendations:—

“One road would be required for the merchants who trade from Bengal, Bihar and other places to the east and south to Nipal, and two for those from the upper provinces from the westward.”

This information he obtained from an ‘intelligent native of the district. Such was the extent of official knowledge about the communications of a district permanently assessed about 10 years previously.

46. The Collector particularised his proposals in greater detail, thus:—

First road.—From Hajipur *via* Sonapur to Nipal, crossing the Gandak at Govindganj and passing through Segouli, Narkatia, &c., to a place called Ghorparsara, very difficult of identification at present. It was to traverse Sirkar Champaran for 54 miles only, so the Collector estimated.

Second road.—From Darauli on the river Dewah in Saran to Ghoseparsah in Nipal, also crossing the Gandak at Govindganj, 52 miles.

Third road.—From and to the same places, but traversing a different route, *i.e.*, crossing the Gandak at Panditwa, and leading on to Machhargawan, Majhawa, Bagaha, Ramnagar and Sultanpur, and terminating at the hills, in all 72 miles in Sirkar Champaran.

47. One hundred and seventy-eight miles of roads, therefore, were recommended for construction in 1800 in this district,

Roads in 1830.

but from a similar report in 1830, it appears that this mileage had by that time been considerably exceeded. The report runs thus:—

“With regard to the Champaran Division of the district, the road to the Mallye cantonments from Sattar Ghat, *via* Kalyanpore and Dhaka, is kept in a tolerable state of repair, as well as the roads from the cantonments along the Nipal boundary, between the Tirhut and Gorakhpur districts.” “Besides these roads in Champaran, I must add that there are now two other very good roads, the one from Bettiah to Tribeni, and the other from Bettiah to Ramnagar, for both of which we are indebted to the late visit from the Governor-General to the Province.”

48. He goes on to point out that there were numerous old roads throughout Champaran from north to south and east to west; and until they were repaired and opened for ‘land carriage,’ very little trade could be carried on, and the little that there was in that part of the district was mainly to be attributed to the Little Gandak, which afforded communication with the Ganges at Monghyr passing through the Tirhut district. The report very fittingly concludes:—

“Directly there is a regular thoroughfare for hackeries and *beoparis*, the increase of trade would be a hundredfold, and in all probability render this one of the most flourishing districts in India.”

A picture too optimistic no doubt, but nevertheless vast strides had been made. Indigo-planters had already come on the scene, and had begun to reclaim the waste in the interests of their indigo cultivation. The Collector

was not slow to point out that "the Government would now be able to avail itself of the assistance of indigo-planters," who were repairing and making roads "to facilitate the superintendence of their work."

49. Coming to the year of the revenue survey, internal communications are found in a stage of development still further advanced :—

Roads in 1845

"The principal roads which pass through Champaran are from Chapra, Muzaffarpur and Patna to Motihari, Segouli and Bettiah; from Bettiah to Gorakhpur via Bagaha; from Bettiah via Ramnagar to Tribeni and Nipal; from Motihari to Mallya and then to Nipal; and the high road from Segouli to Khatmandu; besides numerous cart-roads and bullock tracks which intersect this Division."

50. In 1876 we find, on the authority of Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, 28 principal roads in the district, covering a length of 437½ miles. The total expenditure of the District Road Committee during the year was Rs. 82,520, of which Rs. 27,180 went on original works, and Rs. 49,790 on repairs. The Committee was replaced by the District Board, constituted, under Act III (B.C.) of 1885, in October of 1886; but during its administration it had brought under its control over 1,000 miles of road.

Roads in 1876.

51. The following is a statement of the annual expenditure incurred by the District Board on roads during the last decade, 1887-88 to 1897-98 :—

Receipt expenditure on roads.

Year.	Original. Rs.	Repairs. Rs.	Total. Rs.
1887-88	20,483	45,420	65,903
1888-89	12,907	34,264	47,171
1889-90	11,965	35,172	47,137
1890-91	31,271	36,353	67,624
1891-92	34,828	26,914	61,742
1892-93	34,337	21,806	56,143
1893-94	37,628	23,040	60,668
1894-95	38,018	27,957	66,000
1895-96	42,427	21,837	64,264
1896-97	22,451	11,637	34,088
1897-98	4,845	20,100	24,945

The small expenditure on roads in 1888-90, and again in 1892-93, was probably due to a diversion of funds to meet scarcity; and the famine of 1897 accounts for the enormous decrease under this head from 1896 to 1898.

52. Champaran now contains 1,041 miles of district roads, and 318 of village roads, over which this expenditure is spread. As Mr. Macpherson puts it in his famine report, there is "about ⅔ of a mile of road for every square mile of country, excluding the hills." The roads of this district, in marked contrast to those of North Bihar generally, are often in a state of great disrepair. Rents are so low that the resources of the district are slender, and the District Board has not means sufficient for the up-keep of its long lines of communication. These being admitted facts, it is noticeable that the cost of original work often nearly doubles that of repairs. It is however largely absorbed in bridging existing roads.

53. In the matter of railways the district still presents a field for enterprise. The Tirhut State Railway, opened in the district since November 1883, traverses only 53 miles of it from Mehsi to Bettiah; and the terminus is still 80 to 70 miles from its northern frontier. The only other railway is that from Raxaul to Segauli, where it joins the Tirhut State Railway. It is 18 miles long, and taps the grain and passenger traffic from Nipal, but was opened under unfortunate auspices. It runs across a strong line of drainage, and during the big flood that occurred in September 1898, was most severely damaged owing to insufficient waterway. The Tirhut State Railway, from the same cause, was also badly breached, and traffic was at a standstill for over a month. The engineering defects of these two lines, by giving the flood-water an accumulated volume and velocity that it would not otherwise have acquired, greatly increased its power for destruction. Steps have now been taken to enlarge the waterways.

Railways.

54. The construction of two other lines is in contemplation; one from Bairagnia (the terminus of the Darbhanga-Sitamarhi branch), through Shikarpur and Ramnagar, to Bagaha; the other from Bettiah to Bagaha; the object being that the Nipal and North Champaran grain traffic may reach Gorakhpur and the North-Western Provinces direct, without a long detour through Muzaffarpur and Saran.

55. Although a very large number of rivers intersect this district, three only are navigable throughout the year, viz., the Gandak, for boats of 1,000 maunds; the Baghimati, for boats of 400 to 500 maunds; and the Bur-Gandak or Sikrahna, for boats of 200 to 300 maunds burden. The other rivers are little better than hill-streams; almost dry for most of the year, but in the monsoon deep, and flowing with great rapidity.

56. The bridges are very few in number over even the more important streams. There are only two bridges of any size, both over the Sikrahna; one at Segauli, and the other at Champatha. The Collector, in his general administration report of 1885-86, written almost immediately after their construction, observes as follows:—

“The enormous relief to trade given by the construction of these two bridges may be estimated from the returns of the traffic that actually passed over them. In the year 1885-86 54,314 carts, 33,463 pack ponies, and 21,681 pack-bullocks passed over the Segauli bridge; and 41,430 carts, 61,517 pack-ponies, and 19,286 pack-bullocks over the Champatha bridge. No doubt there is very great room for development in this direction, but the District Board is sure to be hampered for many years to come by the slenderness of its resources.”

57. The income from ferries in Champaran, as may be surmised, is considerable. There are eight principal ferries under the District Board, yielding over Rs. 15,000 annually, four of which are over the Sikrahna at Lal Bighia, Piparpanti, Jatwa and Segauli. The number of minor ferries and ferries that ply during the rains is very considerable. Then there are the principal ferries over the Big Gandak, the most noted of which are at Dhekha or Sattarghat, Sangrampur, Gobindganj, Bariarpur, Pipra, Ratiwal and Bagaha.

58. In postal and telegraphic communication the district is still very backward. Obvious causes of this are that the population is purely agricultural and very ignorant, while the district itself is out of line of main communication and but half developed. Its administrative progress is hampered by its poverty.

59. To sum up, the district has been making steady progress since the beginning of the century in improving its internal and external communications, and if it still lags behind its neighbours, this is mainly owing to its limited resources. The want is greatest in the Bettia subdivision, especially near Shikarpur and Ramnagar, where a breakdown in supplies was seriously apprehended during the last famine. As these tracts are the most liable to famine, it is urgently desirable to bring the intended Bettia-Bagaha Railway line into existence as speedily as possible.

CHAPTER. III.

POPULATION AND CASTE IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE.

60. The earliest attempt to make an estimate of the district population dates back to the end of the last century, when the Collector of Saran, replying to a series of queries about the material condition of his charge, among other things, returned the population as 12 lakhs of souls. This was for both Sirkars Saran and Champaran, which then formed two subdivisions, so to speak, of a single district—an arrangement which the East India Company inherited from the Muhammadans. His successor, replying to a similar inquiry a little more than a decade later, in 1811, raised the estimate to 25 lakhs, broadly recognising, probably apart from any question of accuracy, that a material advancement had been made. One has only to remember that in 1891 Champaran alone returned 18 lakhs,

and the two districts together over 42 lakhs, to realise how very great the subsequent increase must have been. The next attempt, made at the time of the revenue survey in 1845, was inaccurate. It was intended to base the estimate on a house census to be made by the surveyor, but these orders* were apparently misunderstood, and recourse was had to the police, who returned the number of houses at 140,399. Assuming 6·13 souls per house, the population was put down at a little over 8 lakhs 60 thousand. Both the Magistrate and Mr. Wyatt, the Revenue Surveyor, suspected this estimate to be excessive. The attempt to obtain an accurate estimate of the population was repeated in 1854, when the houses were returned at 148,562, and the population at 668,529, allowing therefore 4·5 souls per house. In 1891 there were found to be over 6·2 souls per house, so that the 1845 average of 6·13 souls per house must have been much nearer the mark. Again in 1869 an attempt was made to ascertain the correct number of male agriculturists. The number returned was 341,271. Next followed the enumeration of the whole population through the agency of patwaris and chaukidars, when details as to religion, sex and occupation were also called for. This, too, proved abortive, and it was not till 1872, six years after the elevation of the Sirkar Champarni to the status of an independent district, that the first regular census was taken. It demonstrated how very much too low all previous rough estimates had been.

61. In 1872 the district returned a total population of 1,440,815, which rose to 1,721,608 in 1881, or by a little less than 20 per cent. This abnormal rise, in spite of the great famine of 1874, making all allowances for errors of omission in the enumeration of 1872, can to a large extent be attributed to the undeveloped potentialities of the district. Even now the population is very sparse; there is abundance of rich land waiting for the plough, and rents are low. The agricultural development of the north of this district is still in its infancy, and thus in 1881 the increase in Bettiah subdivision was found to be 22 per cent., as against 17 per cent. in the head-quarter subdivision. In the extreme north malarial fever is the great enemy of progress, but one that increased cultivation is steadily driving back.

62. The following is a comparative statement of the population, thana by thana, according to the three census returns of 1872, 1881 and 1891. The percentage of increase, thana by thana, found in 1881 is not supplied, as, owing to changes in thana jurisdiction, it would be only misleading.

NAME OF THANA.		Total Population.			Percentage of increase.		REMARKS
		1872.	1881.	1891	1881.	1891	
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Bettiah subdivision.	Bagaha	114,879	197,420	216,074	..	9·4	
	Shikarpur	170,760	182,044	209,724	..	15·2	
	Bettiah	289,622	323,471	334,087	..	3·3	
	Bettiah Total	575,161	702,935	759,865	22·1	8·1	
Sadar sub-division.	Adampur	114,561	138,499	167,119	..	20·9	
	Dhaka	230,484	253,992	269,719	..	6·2	
	Motihari	142,887	178,031	190,207	..	6·7	
	Gohandiganj	141,986	164,988	179,640	..	8·6	
	Kesaria	159,863	177,882	183,673	..	3·4	
	Madhubani	84,873	106,086	109,542	..	4·12	
	Sadar Total	865,654	1,018,673	1,099,600	17·7	8·0	
	District Total	1,440,815	1,721,608	1,859,465	19·6	8·1	

63. In 1891 the total population was found to be 1,859,465, showing a moderate increase of 8·1 per cent. only over the figures of 1881. Hindus account for 1,590,044, or 85 per cent., and Muhammadans for 267,319, or 14 per cent. The Bettiah subdivision again comes out the better, though only

Features of the 1891 census.
Expansion of population.

slightly. The only thanas that exceed the district average increase of 8·1 per cent. are Adapur and Gobindganj in the Sadar, and Shikarpur and Bagaha in the Bettia subdivision; Adapur, with an increase of 20·9 per cent., and Shikarpur (Hardi) with 15·2 per cent. These are contiguous thanas in the north-east of the district, bordering on Nipal, and they head the list by a long way. It is in this area, and in the north-west thana of Bagaha, where the increase was 9·4 per cent., that agriculture is so largely extending. Gobindganj probably derived its increase from the overflow of surplus population from Saran. The increase was small in Kesaria, Madhuban and Dhaka, where conditions approximate to those of the neighbouring district of Muzaffarpur. Mr. Dunbar Blyth, Collector of Champaran, in his District Census Report of 1891, thus expresses himself:—

"The increase in Hardi (Shikarpur) thana is due to the immigration of people from the districts of Saran and Gorakhpur, and from densely-populated parts of Champaran, into the fallow, but thinly-inhabited, tracts in the north-west of the Hardi thana, which were transferred from the jurisdiction of Bagaha. Adapur, which borders on Nipal, contains very fertile land; but until within recent years cultivation had not extended to it. All waste land in the thana is now being taken up, and in consequence there has been a very marked increase in the population. The pioneers of cultivation in this part of the district are the *Tharus*, and as the jungle is being cut and the cultivation extended, the tract is becoming less unhealthy, and land in it will become more and more sought after, and the pressure of the population in Saran and Gorakhpur, and in the more southern parts of this district will, no doubt, in time lead to the northern portion of the district being more thickly populated than it is at present. A portion of it, however, which is covered with low hills, can never afford the same advantages to cultivators as other parts of the district, and the northern part of the district must always remain less thickly populated than the other parts of it."

64. The above remarks will be rendered more intelligible by perusal of the following statement, showing the density per square mile of the population of each thana in 1872, 1881 and 1891, the area at present cropped and available for cultivation, and the existing average rent-rates:—

Serial No.	Name of thana.	Area in square miles	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE.			PERCENTAGE TO THE TOTAL AREA.			Rate of rent per acre for occupancy raiyats.	Remarks.
			1872	1881	1891.	Net cropped area.	Culturable area.	Area not available for cultivation.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Bagaha ...	619	161	278	304	50	36	14	Rs. 1 9 2	
2	Shikarpur ...	554	223	238	274	69	23	8	1 10 4	
3	Bettia ...	647	539	607	622	69	21	10	1 10 8	
	Bettia Total...	1,720	279	356	377	62	27	11	1 10 2	
4	Adapur ...	224	511	618	717	86	8	7	2 1 2	
5	Dhaka ...	335	681	766	808	83	10	7	2 8 1	
6	Motihari ...	290	493	620	660	71	20	9	1 11 4	
7	Gobindganj...	286	522	607	658	70	19	11	1 14 3	
8	Kesaria ...	273	661	661	683	79	12	9	1 13 3	
9	Madhuban ...	122	658	815	819	61	10	9	2 11 3	
	Sadar Total...	1,530	589	670	724	78	13	9	2 0 6	
	District Total.	3,250	408	488	527	70	20	10	1 14 1	

65. In later chapters of this report the truths that these figures indicate will have to be discussed at length. I will content myself with remarking here that in the case of the Sadar subdivision, the reason why the average rent-rate of thanas Motihari, Gobindganj and Kesaria is below Rs. 1-15, while that of Adapur, Dhaka and Madhuban is over Rs. 2, is to a certain extent due to a difference in soil. In the first three thanas, which are mainly west of the small Gandak, the prevailing soil is a light sand. In Adapur and Dhaka it is a thick clay, which grows very luxurious paddy crops. In Madhuban conditions

approximate to those in Tirhut. The density of population in Madhuban is 849, in Dhaka 803, and in Adapur 747. The density even in Adapur exceeds the North Bihar average by 83, the South Bihar average by 239, and the total Bihar average by 134. But I do not think the high rent-rates, except perhaps in Madhuban, are mainly and directly due to the high density of population. A wave of agricultural enterprise, starting from the southerly thanas, has flowed northwards through the thanas of Dhaka and Adapur within recent years, drawn by the extraordinary fertility of the soil. Having covered most of this tract, it is now spreading to Shikarpur thana. Another flowing eastwards from the congested parts of Saran and Gorakhpur, is similarly making its way over thana Bagaha.

66. It is of course a matter of common knowledge that the district of Champaran is almost entirely agricultural; but when the material condition of a district is under investigation, it is essential to ascertain, with approximate accuracy, what percentages of the population, as cultivators and as labourers, are mainly dependent on the produce of the soil for their livelihood, and it is much to be regretted that no means have been hit on in any census, hitherto made, of compiling reliable information on the subject. No person will state his chief means of livelihood to be other than the recognised occupation of his caste. Thus a very large number of Brahmins, who live entirely by cultivation assert their main occupation to be that of a priest. Again, a barber, who lives mainly by cultivating his land, asserts his hereditary profession to be his chief means of livelihood. Conversely a *Koiri*, who has been mulcted of his land and lives by labouring for others, still claims to be a cultivator; but even as a labourer he gains his livelihood out of the produce of the soil; so that, speaking broadly, and bearing in mind that it is usual for every one, whatever his occupation, who saves a little money to invest it in land, we can take it as a working axiom that detailed statistics of the proportion of the population dependent on agriculture are sure to return an under-estimate. In the census report for 1891, the population is apportioned, according to occupation, thus:—

A. Agriculture	...	...	...	1,323,126
B. Professions	...	...	...	4,077
C. Commercial	...	...	...	25,988
D. Artisans	...	...	...	129,222
E. Pastoral	...	...	...	2,634
F. Hunting and fishing	...	...	...	8,971
G. Service	...	...	...	261,467
H. Unproductive groups	...	...	...	17,166
Total				1,869,465

67. Agriculture thus accounts for 72 per cent. of the population. The details do not bear investigation, as only 2,628 of these dependent on agriculture are shown as labourers, which must be incorrect; and for the reasons already stated, 72 per cent. is sure to be an under-estimate. There are no indigenous industries of any importance, and no large towns in the district. I should therefore take the proportion of the population, dependent on agriculture, at nothing less than 85 per cent.

68. Again, we have recorded 378,799 agricultural holdings in this district. Now villages are large, holdings are large, and there is little subdivision of holdings; so that not less than 300,000 of these holdings must be held, each separately, by a separate family. The census figures show a family to consist of at least six units; and multiplying 300,000 holdings by this number, we get as a result very nearly a separate holding for each family in the district. It must of course be remembered that many families of artisans, and so on, hold only a few *kathas* of land on which they in no sense rely for their livelihood; but these figures serve to indicate in a very striking manner that, practically, the whole population has a stake in the land.

69. I have estimated that 85 per cent. of the population must be mainly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood; I will try to check this by another process of inquiry starting from the number of persons found to belong to the castes that are wholly or partly agricultural. I will preface the

calculation by a short notice of the more important castes. The *Goals* constitute the caste strongest in numbers. They amounted in 1801 to 183,732 souls, and live almost entirely by cultivation and cattle-breeding. They can be treated as entirely and purely agricultural. Next come the *Koiris* with 108,877 souls. They are practically all pure cultivators—"the backbone of the Bihar peasantry", as they have so often been called. Rajputs and Brahmins come next, with 86,440 and 84,493 souls, respectively. They are almost entirely agricultural in this district. Pandit Rama Ballabh Misra reports that the number of section 106 cases decided in the course of the settlement operations, is to a large extent accounted for by the Brahmins, who, as petty *briddars*, cultivators and proprietors of small resumed estates, have all along been the most prominent figures in our camps and courts. The number of *Chamars* is 126,997; of *Dosadhs* 91,452, and of *Kurmis* 90,145; but only a portion of these are pure cultivators. After these come, in numerical importance *Malla*, *Teli*, *Kandu* and *Musahar*, the two last named supplying a large number of those persons who live partly by cultivation and partly by agricultural labour. Going lower down the numerical scale we find *Babhanas* or *Bhuiyars* numbering 28,496, all agricultural, most of the landlords and substantial raiyats being drawn from this caste. Then come *Kayasths* and *Tharus* with over 27,000 each. In the former, local intellect, such as it is, is concentrated. The latter are purely agricultural. The term "*Maghawa*," i.e., resident of pargana Majhawa, the synonym for a fool, is applied even to the *Kayasths* of Champaran by the *Kayasths* of other districts; but in the district itself, other castes respect the *Kayasth* as a man of brains. No doubt an old Sanskrit saying could be applied with propriety:—

"In a treeless country, even the castor-oil plant ranks as a tree."

Round the *Tharus* a controversy centres, it being disputed as to whether their origin is Indo-Aryan or aboriginal; but with this a settlement report has no concern. Mr. Blyth, as I have said, has styled them "the pioneers of cultivation." They inhabit mainly the tract of country in the north-west of the district called after them, the *Tharuhat*. Their tendencies are nomadic, they pay rent according to the plough, not the bigha. At the slightest sign of oppression, they go elsewhere in a body. They are careful and excellent cultivators, are well off and support themselves in season of famine. The remaining castes do not require detailed mention.

70. I subjoin a caste statement with a rough estimate in each case of the number that may be said to derive their livelihood, wholly or in part, by agriculture or labour, classifying the rest as others:—

Serial No.	Name of caste.	Total population.	PURE CULTIVATORS.		CULTIVATORS WHO FOLLOW OTHER CALLING.		CULTIVATING AND LANDLESS LABOURERS.		MISCELLANEOUS.		
			No.	Percentage.	No.	Percentage.	No.	Percentage.	No.	Percentage.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Goals	183,732	113,791	...	...	...	20,002	...	...	...	Cultivation pastoral and labour.
2	Rajput	86,440	64,335	...	...	25,105	...	...	...	...	Ditto and service.
3	Brahman	84,493	60,510	...	...	23,983	...	...	...	...	Ditto and service.
4	Koiri	108,877	70,294	...	...	...	38,583	...	...	...	Cultivation and labour.
5	Bhutihar-Babhan	28,496	18,978	...	...	9,518	...	...	...	...	Ditto and labour.
6	Kayasth	27,000	10,729	...	...	16,270	...	...	...	...	Ditto and service.
7	Korai	90,145	51,053	...	...	...	38,992	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
8	Bhothi	92,469	39,236	...	...	...	24,234	...	...	...	Ditto and labour.
9	Teli	58,516	40,299	...	...	8,627	...	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
10	Johaha	80,388	39,523	...	...	...	44,096	...	...	...	Ditto and trading.
11	Kandus	68,684	37,511	...	...	...	31,277	...	...	...	Ditto and labour.
12	Ballah	63,070	31,961	...	...	...	31,109	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
13	Dumadh	81,452	44,989	...	...	...	36,463	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
14	Chamar	126,997	84,606	...	...	...	78,831	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
15	Kalwar	23,700	21,709	...	...	12,403	...	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
16	Kochi	33,908	14,706	...	...	...	20,197	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
17	Lebar	21,356	14,909	...	...	13,194	...	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
18	Dhosi	11,356	11,724	...	...	6,025	...	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
19	Paras	37,778	18,494	...	...	...	19,441	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
20	Babhan	27,000	15,176	...	...	10,923	...	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
21	Kushar	24,954	15,760	...	...	...	18,244	...	...	...	Cultivation, labour and do.
22	Bhoi	27,331	15,408	...	...	...	13,923	...	...	...	Cultivation and labour.
23	Ach	11,940	6,504	...	...	5,242	...	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
24	Bhanshi	11,680	6,195	...	...	...	5,273	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
25	Patwa	26,891	17,439	...	...	...	19,646	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
26	Gouda	6,753	5,419	...	...	...	2,141	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
27	Bhunia	26,000	11,527	...	...	...	15,477	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
28	Bori	11,700	7,500	...	...	...	4,500	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
29	Tharu	27,000	24,612	...	...	...	2,012	...	...	...	Ditto and do.
30	Others	264,484	187,797	...	...	...	22,130	...	111,264	...	Ditto and miscellaneous.
Grand Total		1,900,485	1,000,000	57	130,143	7	57,509	30	111,264	6	

71. I have divided the agricultural class into three groups of pure cultivators, cultivators with other professions, if any, and cultivating labourers, but the cultivating labourer has been put down in the same column with the landless labourers, a column being set apart for "others." Now, according to this statement, pure agriculturists form 57 per cent. of the population. By pure agriculturists I mean those who are solely dependent on agriculture and not merely those who have any connection with land, because the latter class, I have already said, account for a much larger percentage not less than 85 per cent. If we wish to simplify the classification still further and eliminate those in the second group, we can safely transfer 4 per cent. of them to the first group and 3 per cent. to the third group, because the condition of some of them is as good as pure cultivators and of others as bad as labourers. So we arrive at the following percentages:—

Pure cultivators	...	...	...	61
Labourers	...	...	...	33
Others	...	...	...	6
				<hr/> 100 <hr/>

72. In the chapter on material condition I shall throw further light on the subject and show how far the settlement statistics support these percentages. Meanwhile I furnish a statement compiled from the records of 180 villages in the district, showing the relative importance of the principle castes, as denoted by the average size of their holdings and the percentage of the area occupied by them to the total area occupied by all castes in these villages. We need not attach too much importance to the size of the holdings, because as I shall show later on, they are considerably larger than what they here appear to be, but as they are they can throw enough light on the relative importance of particular castes from the agricultural point of view, and the percentage of the area occupied by each affords additional corroboration. It is noteworthy that the average size of the holdings of the following eight castes is the largest of all, ranging between 3.5 and 6 acres, and it is they that account for 60 per cent. of the area occupied. They are—

Caste.				Population.
Goala	...	...	...	183,732
Rajput	...	...	...	86,440
Brahman	...	...	...	84,493
Koiri	...	...	...	108,877
Babhan	...	...	...	28,496
Kayasth	...	...	...	27,624
Kurmi	...	...	...	96,145
Sheikh	...	...	...	62,459
				<hr/> 678,266, or 36.4 per cent. <hr/>

Thus, though these castes account for only 36 per cent. of the total population, they cover 60 per cent. of the area.

Serial number.	Name of the caste.	AVERAGE AREA OF A HOLDING UNDER EACH CASTE.		Percentage of the area occupied by the caste to total area under compilation.	REMARKS.
		Acre.	Decimal.		
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Goala	4	2	11.4	
2	Rajput	6	...	10.9	
3	Brahman	4	2	10.3	
4	Koiri	4	9	7.6	
5	Bhuinhar-Babhan	6	5	5.	

Serial number.	Name of the caste.	AVERAGE AREA OF A HOLDING UNDER EACH CASTE.		Percentage of the area occupied by the caste to total area under compilation.	REMARKS.
		Acre.	Decimal.		
1	2	3	4	5	6
6	Kayastha ...	5	9	5.5	
7	Kurmi ...	3	5	4	
8	Sekh ...	4	6	4	
9	Tei ...	3	8	3.3	
10	Jolaha ...	2	7	2.7	
11	Kandu ...	3	3	2.7	
12	Malah ...	3	2	2.5	
13	Dusadh ...	2	8	2.1	
14	Chamar ...	2	2	2.4	
15	Kalwar ...	4	2	2	
16	Nunia ...	2	8	1.6	
17	Lohar ...	3	1	1.1	
18	Dhobi ...	3	1	1.1	
19	Turaha ...	2	7	.9	
20	Hajam ...	2	5	.9	
21	Kamhar ...	3	2	.9	
22	Bind ...	2	8	.8	
23	Atitha ...	4	7	.8	
24	Dhanukh ...	3	7	.7	
25	Tatwa ...	2		.7	
26	Gondha ...	3	3	.7	
27	Dhunia ...	2	5	.6	
28	Barai ...	3	5	.5	
29	Others ...	3	3	9.3	

73. I will add a few remarks on other details of importance furnished by the census. There has been little variety in the proportions in which Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians make up the population. They stand now at 85, 14 and 1 per cent., respectively. The Christians consist mainly of native converts, who reside in Bettia. They are mainly artisans, and therefore not dependent on the soil for their subsistence.

74. Another interesting and important economic feature, is the tendency for females to increase relatively to males. In 1881 the increase of males was 18 per cent., as against a total increase of 20 per cent., and in 1891 7.5 per cent., as against a total increase of 8.5 per cent. This fact is of importance as indicating more civilised and settled social, and therefore agricultural conditions.

75. The number of foreigners in Champaran is large, but mainly supplied by three districts. Saran sent 83,000, Muzaffarpur 56,000, and Gorakhpur 40,000, but the proportion of females, who immigrated from Gorakhpur, is very much smaller than from the other two districts. Female immigrants from Muzaffarpur exceed males; no doubt whole families from this district have permanently settled down in Champaran. It is odd that, out of 34,000 Nepalese, 21,000 were women. The 1891 census statistics of infirmities for this district were said by Mr. Blyth, the Collector, to be inaccurate. Such being the case, it is useless to consider their bearing on the material condition of the poor.

76. In this section I have tried to trace the expansion of population in Champaran. Round Bettia, the head-quarters of a powerful Raj and the southernmost thanas, the country was cleared and peopled in very old times, while the rest of this large district was little better than a vast expanse of grass and forest, unbroken save by a hermit's abode, or by an isolated patch of cultivation sufficient to show the great possibilities that lay beyond it. The congested areas in this

and the surrounding districts found an outlet to the east, in Dhaka and Adapur thanas; and the expansion was encouraged by the extraordinary fertility of the tract exploited, which now supports a density of population equal to most thanas in Tirhut. The onward movement still continues, checked only by the evil reputation that the northern portion of thanas Bagaha and Shikarpur have earned for a virulent type of malarial fever. But as the country is opened out it grows much healthier, and this deterrent ceases to act.

77. The district, then, with which we are dealing is one where rents are low; where population is sparse; where land available for cultivation is plentiful and of good quality yet this is the district in which the famine of 1896, not only was probably most severe, but also was soonest felt. Here is a fact which western methods of economic investigation entirely fail to explain. If there was one district in Bihar that should have been able to make a good fight on its own resources against famine, it was Champaran. But this was the district which was the first to succumb, and within certain restricted areas the most severely affected. Such is the problem that a consideration of census statistics has suggested. In treating the material condition of the people an attempt will be made to solve it.

CHAPTER IV.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN CHAMPARAN.

78. Champaran is a permanently-settled district, and its land revenue history therefore is, broadly speaking, identical with that of the permanently-settled portion of Bengal. But this report would be incomplete without an attempt to trace the development of the land revenue system in this district from its first beginnings and to review in their special application to Champaran the various stages of activity through which the Land Revenue Administration has passed since the acquisition of the *Dewani* in 1765.

First Period—The Muhammadan period.

79. When the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled (the first work that gives us an authoritative glimpse into the detailed Revenue Administration of the past), Subah Bihar consisted of six Sirkars called Bihar, Rohtas, Hajipur, Tirhut, Saran and Champaran. Four of the six are no longer, even the names of districts, and it is only in the case of the two others, Saran and Champaran, that there exists a fairly common basis for comparative investigation. Champaran in the time of Akbar (1556—1605 A.D.), as now, consisted of the three parganas, Sonraun, Mehsi and Majhawa.

Babra pargana, which in 1865 was transferred from the Champaran to the Muzaffarpur district, was thereby merely restored to the district to which it had originally belonged. In analysing then the statistics of agricultural development of the Champaran district, we have the advantage, in that the district nearly 300 years ago comprised much the same area and jurisdiction as now, of working on an uniform basis of comparison.

80. The results of the great land revenue assessment made by Raja Todar Mall during Akbar's reign, were condensed by the Finance Minister and scholar, Abul Fazl, in the statistical account which forms a portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (the third book of Blochman's translation). From this we see that Champaran had already become of sufficient importance to be recognised as a distinct revenue unit and separate statistics for it were compiled. It had also been brought into touch with the military system of the Empire, for, according to Abul Fazl, it was responsible for the supply and maintenance of 700 horse and 30,000 infantry.

81. Although, however, this district had long before then emerged from the primitive state depicted in the first chapter, its agricultural resources were

evidently in the initial stages of development. Abul Fazl, while noticing in his general description of the Bihar Subah the many and varied aspects of the several Sirkars, describes Champaran thus:—

"In the Sirkar of Champaran the seed of the *mash* is cast on unploughed soil, where it grows without labour or tilling. Long pepper grows wild in its forests."

82. This description indicates a sufficiently primitive state of agriculture, and no doubt was an accurate representation of the most characteristic feature of the district at that time. In the case of the other districts Abul Fazl lays particular stress on their high state of agriculture and wealth of mango groves, but about Champaran he is content to say that "*mash* is grown broadcast in unploughed lands and long pepper grows wild in its forests."

That this was a correct view, is further confirmed by the comparative smallness of its cultivated or revenue-paying area. At the time of Todar Mall's assessment the Sarkar Champaran contained three mahals, 85,711 bighas 5 biswas, and was assessed at a revenue of 55,13,420 *dams*. The details for each pargana converted into acres and rupees are as follows:—

		B.	B.	Dams.	Acres.	Rs.	Rate Per acre.
Semraon	...	7,209	2	500,095	8,352	12,502	1 7
Mehai	...	56,095	7	3,518,135	65,070	87,960	1 5
Majhaua	.	22,415	16	1,491,890	26,002	37,373	1 6
Total	...	85,711	5	5,513,420	99,424	1,37,835	1 6

83. The description of the system of measurement and assessment contained in the *Ain-i-Akbari* suggests that it was only the cultivated land, or at most the cultivated land, and the waste in its immediate neighbourhood that were brought under assessment. Assuming that only cultivated land was so treated, the cultivated area of this district in Akbar's time was only 99,424 acres, or 148 square miles (the *higha* being calculated at 3,000 square *ells* as defined in Grant's Analysis).

84. It is more than likely that isolated stretches of cultivation in so inaccessible a region escaped assessment, but that the Bettia Raj did not, as Mr. Grant said, came under assessment until a later date, can only be partially correct, since 25 per cent. of the area then assessed by Todar Mall is contained in pargana Majhawa which has always belonged entirely to the Bettia estate. Making all allowances, however, on this account, the progress since made in reclaiming the district is sufficiently striking.

85. At the present time the revenue-paying area is over 3,200 square miles, and 2,292 square miles are under cultivation, giving therefore a fifteenfold increase since the time of Akbar. The greatest development, as might have been expected, is in the northern pargana of Majhawa. A comparison of these figures with similar statistics for Saran proves how much higher was the agricultural development of Saran when Todar Mall made his assessment in 1582 A.D.

86. Abul Fazl put down the assessed area of Saran at the time of Akbar as 229,052 *bighas*, against 85,711 *bighas* in Champaran, i.e., as nearly three the area. The cultivated area of Saran at the present time is about 2,000 square miles. In Akbar's time it was about 415 square miles. Thus cultivation has increased fivefold in Saran, as against fifteenfold in Champaran.

87. The most striking feature of Todar Mall's assessment is its marked uniformity. The differences in productivity between Champaran and the other three Sirkars of North Bihar must have been even greater than they are now, yet Champaran was assessed at only 3 annas less than Tirhut and Saran. The only conclusion to be drawn is that Todar Mall's settlement, in theory scientific enough, was in practice worked on methods that would not stand close scrutiny.

88. Another noticeable feature is that, looked at in the light of modern figures, the incidence of revenue strikes one as very high. And this was not the only demand against the raiyat, for the zamindar's *malikana* at 10 per cent.,

or its equivalent if he himself managed the estate, as well as the cost of collection, probably at 20 per cent., were charges on the balance of the produce. The incidence of land revenue at the present time is shown by the following figures:—

Total area in acres.	Cultivated area.	Revenue. Rs.	Incidence per acre of total area. As. P.	Incidence per acre of cultivated area. As. P.
2,079,811	1,447,874	5,15,803	3 11	5 8

The incidence has decreased therefore from Rs. 1-6 to As. 3-11 per acre, or while the total cultivated area has risen from 148 square miles to 2,262 square miles (taking all the originally assessed area to be cultivated), that is, fifteenfold, the revenue has gone up from Rs. 1,37,000 to Rs. 5,15,000, or less than fourfold. The disproportion is a sufficiently striking proof of the loss that has accrued to Government from the introduction of the Permanent Settlement into this district. Fortunately there were successive enhancements of the revenue from the time of Todar Mall's settlement until the British took charge of the *dawani* in 1765. These, however, were summary and arbitrary, without a basis of detailed measurement and scrutiny of assets.

89. The first alteration of the assessment after Todar Mall's settlement Aurangzib's assessment, 1686 of which we have records was made one hundred years later, or, more accurately speaking, in 1685 by Shahjahan in the reign of Aurangzib. The standard assessment was raised from Rs. 1,37,836 to Rs. 2,10,151, but there is no record of the area then cropped, and the increase was probably not regulated with strict regard to an expansion of cultivation. The standard revenue of Champaran in rupees was thus raised by 53 per cent., the percentage for Bihar generally being nearly 60. The increase of revenue in *dams* was much greater, but relatively to silver, this copper coin had deteriorated in value. Mr. Grant in his analysis of the finances of Subah Bihar, estimated that at least 46½ went to the rupee at this time, as against 40 a century earlier; but if, as the same authority seems to indicate, all the revenue was absorbed in jagirs and not paid into the khalsa, then owing to the practice that had sprung up for Government to exaggerate the value of its jagir grants, the figures for this district become still less trustworthy. Such, however, was probably not the case, and without placing too much reliance on actual figures, the assessment on Champaran no doubt underwent a material increase, which, however, owing partly to the increased quantity of silver in the country, but mainly to the prosperity due to the settled government introduced by Akbar, this district was well able to bear.

90. The next tightening at the fiscal screw occurred in Bihar nearly a century later in 1750 during the reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani, but in being entrusted to Aliverdi Khan, the immediate predecessor of the notorious Surajuddaula, it appears to have been placed in sympathetic hands. In Champaran the standard revenue in *dams* was increased from 97½ lakhs to 137½ lakhs, but Mr. Grant estimates that the *dam* was at that time worth only ⅓ of a rupee which makes the standard assessment calculated in rupees Rs. 2,06,822, or less by Rs. 10,000 nearly. It can probably therefore be said with safety that there was no material alteration in the assessment on this district. This remark applies to North Bihar generally. In Sirkar Hajipur, indeed, there appear to have been a considerable decrease.

Aliverdi Khan's settlement was no more scientific than that of Shahjahan. There was no measurement, and the increase obtained was largely in the form of *abwab*.

91. I will close this brief sketch of the settlements of Champaran prior to the acquisition of the *dawani* in 1765 by the East India Company with a further reference to the system of dividing the land revenue into khalsa and jagir. All civil and military officials were remunerated by grants of land or jagirs which, however, in the same way as khalsa lands, or those the revenue of which was paid into the exchequer, were subjected to a similar revenue assessment, the difference being that in the one case the revenue was appropriated by the jagirdars, in the other it was paid into the imperial exchequer.

The advantage of the system was that it relieved the administration from the trouble of the double transaction of receiving money from its officers and paying it back to them again, but it of course opened the door to the greatest and most widespread abuses, and these jagirdars sacrificed public interests not only by devoting all their attention and energy to improving and developing their grants, but also by encroaching on and misappropriating khalsa lands. The Imperial Government, when strong enough, minimised these evil effects by interchanging jagir and khalsa land, but, as Sir John Shore tells us, the Mughal administration was one of discretion, and the weaker it grew, the more these abuses flourished unrestrained.

92. In order to trace the effect in this district of the land-revenue administration from 1765—when the East India Company stood forth as diwan—to the present time, it will be convenient to divide its history into periods. In doing so I will give a brief sketch of the characteristic features of each stage.

93. The Muhammadan period being regarded as the first stage, the second stage runs from 1765 to 1790 A.D., that is, from the acquisition of the diwani to the decennial settlement. In 1766 Mahomed Raza Khan was entrusted with the revision of the land revenue of Subah Bihar, but he confined himself mainly to adjusting, without altering, the existing assessment. Annual settlements were made until 1772, when, under the control of European supervisors, a quinquennial settlement was attempted. It proved a failure, and in 1780 after annual settlements with farmers which also were largely unsuccessful, the Directors tired of these fruitless experiments, expressed a desire for a durable assessment on the basis of actual collections for a term of years.

94. The decennial settlement was the result. It was made with the zamindars, farmers being introduced only in case of recusancy. It was concluded in 1790, and was, three years later, with only slight modifications, confirmed in perpetuity. The third period deals with the immediate effects of this settlement after its declaration as permanent.

95. It is well known that the immediate effects of the Regulation of 1793 are popularly recognised as having been—to bestow the status of proprietors on many who were mere rent-receivers; to provide measures for the protection of the raiyats, which, though theoretically sound, were practically abortive; and by the sudden introduction of a stringent system of sale for arrears of revenue to ruin large number of the hereditary land-owners. Mr. MacNoile, in describing in his memorandum the effects of what he terms the "first unbonding fixture" with which the natives of this country were brought in contact, remarks:—

"It is scarcely too much to say that within the ten years that immediately followed the permanent settlement, a complete revolution took place in the constitution and the ownership of the estates which formed the subject of that settlement."

While I shall show hereafter that this description, in its application to North Bihar, must be considered as an over-statement of facts, still, in Bengal generally it is probable that the excessive number of defaults endangered the success of the permanent settlement, and this view led to the passing of Regulation VII of 1799, the notorious *Hafiam* which accorded to zamindars an unrestricted power of distraint and eviction without reference to any court; and, to complete their despotic authority, rendered any tenant unable to prove the truthfulness of a complaint made against his landlord in a court, liable to fine or imprisonment. The effect in reducing in Bengal the number of sales for arrears of revenue was immediate; and when it was seen that the revenue was secured, a revulsion of feeling set in which found expression in Regulation V of 1812 (the *Panyam*), whereby only the property and not the person of the tenant was liable to seizure for default. This Regulation proved unsatisfactory, and the opinion began to grow that efficient administration was impossible without a more active intervention. In consequence, Regulation XII of 1819 was passed for the resuscitation and reorganisation of *patwaris*; but what had now grown into a definite desire to safeguard the cultivator's rights was defeated by the concession to the zamindars of a joint control over the *patwaris*, which resulted

in the latter being transformed from protector of the raiyats to subservient agents ready to further the illicit practices of the zamindars.

96. At the time of permanent settlement the authority to hereafter scrutinise all rent-free grants, and, if invalid, to assess them, was specially reserved. It was announced in the Proclamation of 1793, that "the Governor-General in Council will impose such

Fourth period—Resumption of rent-free grants—Badshahi and Hukumi distinguished.

assessment as he may deem equitable on all lands, at present alienated and paying no public revenue, which have been or may prove to be held under illegal or invalid titles." Revenue-free lands were divided into two classes—*Badshahi* and *Hukumi*; the former being those that were granted by the Mughal Emperors direct, and the latter by Government officials. Regulation XXXVII of 1793 dealt with *Badshahi* grants, and Regulation XIX of the same year with the others. *Badshahi* grants were recognised as valid if the holder could prove his *sanad* and was in possession. *Hukumi* grants, though in their nature invalid, were accepted as valid if dated prior to 1765. All grants of a subsequent date were invalid, but those given between 1765 and 1790 were to be accorded a privileged rate of assessment. By Regulation XIX all *lakhiraj* grants made by zamindars after 1790 were invalidated, and zamindars were authorized to nullify their own grants. Moreover, the Government ruled, that for any grant of less than 100 bighas, it would forego all claims to revenue and leave to the zamindar the authority to assess it to rent. No practical steps were taken at the time these Regulations were passed, but in 1800 an attempt was made by a Regulation of that year to provide for the preparation of a *pargunawar* register, by making local enquiries through kanungos, and also by compelling *lakhiraj*lars to register their interests; but this, too, proved to be inoperative, and in 1810, a further attempt at amplification of the law and its effective application resulted in Regulation II of that year, the principal provision of which transferred the power of resumption from civil to revenue courts. It was supplemented by Regulation III of 1828, which appointed an executive agency in the person of a Special Commissioner, to give practical effect to the policy of Government; and it was under his guidance that resumption proceedings were systematically undertaken between the years 1830 to 1845, which resulted in a very material increase in the revenue. Mr. MacNeile, in his memorandum, calculated the total increase, mainly on this account, for the whole of Bengal at Rs. 66,21,144, for no less than two-thirds of which Bihar accounted. To complete this sketch, I would add that Act VIII of 1869 has since transferred the resumption cases again to the civil courts, and the question has been further set at rest by the modern limitation law (Act XV of 1877), which expressly gives a limit of 12 years for all private resumption suits, the limit, however, being extended to 60 years in case of suits by the Secretary of State. The fourth period is marked by active operations for the resumption of invalid revenue-free grants, and can be said to have extended up to 1845.

97. The fifth period is characterised by the execution of the first profes-

Fifth Period. The first professional Revenue Survey, 1843—49.

sional village survey in these provinces, the revenue survey of 1843—49. Act IX of 1847 was also passed providing for a survey of *diara* lands and the assessment of accretions during this period, and it formed the basis of the *diara* survey of 1865.

98. The sixth and last period runs from 1850 down to the present time,

Sixth Period. Modern times.

its chief characteristic being a sustained attempt on the part of Government to undo, by practical legislation, the injury to the cultivating classes and to the administration caused by that policy of blind non-intervention which, while not directly emanating from the Permanent Settlement, had grown up round it, which had been so abused by the strong at the expense of the weak, and which had been adjudged as both impracticable and deleterious 30 years before. In Act XI of 1859 the Revenue Sale Law at present in operation was enacted. By Act X of the same year, and Act VIII of 1869, the first conscientious attempt was made to define, by practical legislation, the status and rights of tenants, and the principles on which rents might be enhanced. From 1870 onwards ensued a period of great activity in the land revenue administration. Road-

cess was introduced. A certificate procedure had been provided by Act VII (B.C.) of 1868. It was recognised that, with so many new duties to perform, the administration could not be effective without a complete record of estates and of proprietary interests in them. Hence the Land Registration Act VII (B.C.) of 1876 was passed. In the same year, the Partition Act, VIII of 1876, introduced with the original intention of restricting partitions and simplifying the procedure, became law. In 1872 and 1873 rent disturbances had occurred in Patna and elsewhere in Bengal. In 1874 the great famine occurred in Bihar, which drew public attention to the depressed condition of the peasantry in that province. Both events impressed on Government the necessity for revising the rent law. The Rent Law Commission was appointed, whose labours culminated in the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, and the present settlement and survey operations.

99. The development of the land revenue of Champaran during the Muhammadan period I have already sketched. I shall now describe how the decennial settlement was

Method of treatment.

carried out in this district, and its most conspicuous immediate results when confirmed as permanent. The procedure followed in effecting the resumption of revenue-free grants, and the increase to the revenue resulting from these operations will then be traced, and the increase of temporarily-settled revenue, obtained as a consequence of the *diara* survey of 1865, will be roughly estimated.

The results of the Land Revenue and Partition Acts, though unimportant in this district, will be lightly touched on, while of the chief effects of the most characteristic feature of the sixth period,—the rent-law legislation,—the portions of this report that deal with the present operations are an exposition, I hope sufficiently complete.

The second Period—Early English, 1765—1790 A.D.

100. An attempt has been made in the Muzaffarpur report to show that, in the case of Bihar, the general opinion as to the method on which the Permanent Settlement was

The Bettia Raj.

conducted, and as to its results required considerable modifications, but the Champaran district is to a certain extent an exception. The history of Champaran revenue administration for that period is mainly the history of one big estate, the Bettia Raj; and, in consequence, its conditions present some parallel to those met with in the Bishanpur, Burdwan, and other big estates of Bengal.

101. Sirkar Champaran was the proprietary right of the Bettia Raj from the middle of the 17th century, when it was acquired by a successful military adventurer, Raja Ugra Sen Singh. His direct successors ruled up to two years before the Dewani grant, but the last of them having died without male issue, was succeeded by his daughter's son, Raja Jugul Keshwar Singh, who was on the *gadi* in 1766. He, however, fell into arrears of revenue, and in the words of the Judges of the Dewani Adalat, he "rebelled and fought with the forces of the British Government, was defeated and fled to Bundelkhand for safety, and his Rajgi was seized upon and brought under the direct management of the Company." But the Company found its revenue grew less and less. So in May 1771, the Patna Council, by conciliatory overtures to Jugul Keshwar Singh, persuaded him to return to the Company's territories, and the Council in the following June made a partition of the Sirkar, giving the parganas of Majhawa and Semraon to him, and those of Mehari and Babra to Srikishan and Abdhut Singh, the grandsons of Gaj Singh, for their support. This arrangement was sanctioned by Government, and malikana was paid to Jugul Keshwar, and after his death in 1784 to his son, Bir Keshwar Singh on the one side, and to Srikishan and Abdhut on the other until the formation of the Decennial Settlement.

When this settlement was under construction, Bir Keshwar Singh and Srikishan Singh both claimed to enter into settlement for the whole of the Raj territories, but the Governor-General upheld the partition effected by the Revenue Council of Patna and sanctioned by his predecessor.

102. Thus it was that at the time of the Decennial Settlement, the district had been partitioned into two estates—parganas Majhawa and Semraon forming the Bettia Raj, and parganas Mehari and Babra constituting the original

The original Bettia and Shikhar estates.

property of the Shihhar Raj family. It is noticeable, as indicating the extent to which the farming system had been carried, that both these estates prior to the Decennial Settlement had been farmed out, the proprietors receiving *malikana* only. Innumerable petty estates, which justified the preference for farmers over proprietors in Tirhut and Saran as simplifying administration, were here totally absent.

103. To give an idea of the state of revenue in this Sirkar during the early periods of the British occupation will be of interest. The most accurate account available is contained in a letter, dated the 15th June 1771, from Mr. Golding, the then supervisor of Sirkar Champaran, in which he reported the desolate condition of the country and its falling revenue, and suggested the partial restoration of Jugal Keshwar Singh and the partition of the Sirkar between him and Srikishan Singh as the proper remedy. He observed as follows:—

"Sarkar Champaran is in a state of desolation and ruin hardly to be credited by any one who has not been a witness to it. This assertion will be partly demonstrated by the account of its collections which I now enclose for the year" (i.e., 1766).

103. The statement of revenue collections that accompanies the letter is as follows:—

Prograssive account of the collections in Sarkar Champaran from the year 1173 to 1177 inclusive.

	1173 or 1766.	1174 or 1767.	1175 or 1768.	1176 or 1769.	1177 or 1770
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Pargana Majhaua	4,31,005 14 6	3,82,809 0 0	3,05,054 10 0	2,35,030 4 0	1,68,114 13 0
" Mohai	1,07,878 3 8	1,00,860 1 0	92,287 7 0	84,435 14 0	61,306 14 8
" Bahra	91,936 18 6	69,743 0 0	47,671 7 9	37,866 3 8	24,158 3 8
" Samraon	33,833 0 0	18,898 4 9	21,462 5 3	24,971 5 9	31,083 7 0
Mahal Bajer, etc.	3,250 1 0		12,033 4 3	10,447 10 8	4,846 6 0
Total	7,39,277 6 8	5,82,660 14 9	4,72,450 8 9	3,93,800 5 8	2,79,133 11 9

The drop from 7 lakhs to 2½ lakhs in four years was a genuine source of anxiety to Mr. Golding, and it must be admitted that Jugal Keshwar's passive acquiescence in the revenue administration (for it proved nothing more) was bought at a great price.

105. The next authentic record is a register connected with the name of Nawab Hoshiyar Jang, Subahdar of Bengal, which the Collector of Saran writing in 1823 described as "a collection of *kanungoes' jama wasilbaki papers* for the Fasli year 1180 (i.e., 1773 A.D.) for the parganas then included in the district of Saran" Its value is diminished by want of systematic headings and by omission of areas. According to this there were then in Sirkar Champaran 7 mahals, 4 parganas (including Babra, since transferred to Muzaffarpur), 35 tappas comprising 1,802 villages, of which 1,154 were *asli* and 648 *dakhili*. They included 228 revenue-free villages (158 *asli* and 70 *dakhili*), estimated to yield a Tumari jama, or standard assessment as understood by Todar Mall, to the amount of Rs. 33,974. The remaining villages were charged with a revenue of Rs. 175,251, inclusive of *abwabs* or excluding Babra with Rs. 1,39,389.

106. The following table distributes the amount, pargana by pargana, and compares it with the figures of Todar Mall:—

Demand of 1682 and 1773 compared.

Pargana.	Revenue of—	
	1682. Rs.	1773. Rs.
Majhaua ...	37,373	80,188
Mehai ...	87,960	51,858
Samraon ...	12,502	7,343
Total	1,37,835	1,39,389

It is indeed extraordinary and indicates how low Champaran had fallen that the revenue assessment in 1773 and two hundred years before were approximately the same, and the most striking feature is that while the standard assessment of the northern pargana Majhawa had increased by 114 per cent., that of Mehsi and Semraon had been allowed to fall off 41 per cent., though they were both fertile and accessible.

107. Again, Mehsi and Semraon, which covered only one-sixth of the total district area, bore nearly half its revenue, leaving the other half for Majhawa, which absorbed the other five-sixth of the area; but a very large part of the latter was untraversed jungle. The apportionment of the revenue over the several tappas of Majhawa pargana was as follows:—

Tappa.				Revenue.
				Rs.
1.	Daulata	...	...	6,548
2.	Sonewal	...	...	1,461
3.	Olaha	...	...	1,198
4.	Jaffrabad	...	...	1,151
5.	Sakhwa	...	...	5,220
6.	Mando	...	...	4,321
7.	Madhwal	...	...	7,703
8.	Bahas	...	...	4,853
9.	Sugaon	...	...	10,966
10.	Khadda	...	...	13,500
11.	Patjirwa	...	...	1,982
12.	Sathi	...	...	3,411
13.	Ohigwan Batsara	...	...	8,861
14 & 15.	Balua Gondauli	...	...	1,687
16, 17 & 18.	{ Chanki Deoraj and Gopala }	...	...	1,929
19.	Manpur	...	...	1,406
20.	Harnatand	...	...	4,003
				<hr/> 80,188 <hr/>

108. Thus eight entire tappas are altogether missing from the list, all of which except Belwa (in thana Kesaria) are situated in the northern thanas as shown below:—

Tappa.	Thana.
1. Duho Suho and 2. Balthar 3. Bhabtha 4. Ramgir 5. Jamhauri 6. Dun 7. Bajpur Saharia	Adapur. Shikarpur. Bagaha.

Besides, tappa Bahas, which is also in Adapur, and now pays no less than Rs. 2,64,149 as revenue, was then assessed for only Rs. 4,853. It is seen from this register that the revenue had decreased by nearly a lakh of rupees since Mr. Golding wrote, so that Jugal Keshwar's restoration had not resulted in averting its downward progress.

109. Jugal Keshwar Singh proved a failure, and Mr. Golding thus expressed himself on the subject in his letter to the Patna Council of 17th June 1772.—

Jugal Keshwar superseded by farmers.

"Agreeable to your orders of the 18th ultimo, I repaired to Sarkar Champaran, and have been chiefly employed in adjusting the business of Jugal Keshwar's zamindari. The country I found in so very ruinous a condition that without timely alteration in the mode of settlement I am confidently of opinion that not half the present nominal revenue would have been collected in this year. Raja Jugal Keshwar Singh, contrary to expectations which were entertained of him proves to be very unequal to the management of a zamindari, which requires so much attention."

He then continues by explaining how he divided the whole Sarkar into 15 small farms, which he rented to as many different renters for two years most of whom he considered to be men of character, who could be relied on.

110. As to the realisation of arrears from Jugal Keshwar Singh, he reported:—"On examination of the accounts of the people lately employed by the Raja, which will be finished in about 20 days, should any of them be found to have embezzled any part of the rents beyond the usual and necessary charges, I will use my endeavours to recover it from them, or send them prisoners to Patna. I think it most advisable that Jugwal Kishwar Singh himself should be ordered to reside in Patna at least until the new farmers may have restored their districts to some order, for his being at the same time in the district may very probably occasion some obstruction to the business, or draw the attention of the raiyats from their new masters."

111. Thus the quinquennial settlement came to be made with farmers.

From 1773 up to the decennial settlement there is no better record than the Sisala Register, which professes to give an account of the revenue collections for the 30 years preceding. Unfortunately most of the columns of the register are blank, but the figures available are summarised in the following statement ranging from 1774 A.D. to 1789:—

FASLI.	YEARS.							
	1180.	1182.	1183.	1184.	1185.	1186.	1187.	1188.
	A. D.	1774.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.	1780.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Amount of revenue collected.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
	1,95,648 9 0	2,58,584 6 0	1,72,970 14 0	1,40,943 13 0	161,369 7 3	42,639 12 0	2,10,821 9 0	43,261 10 3

FASLI.	YEARS.							
	1189.	1190.	1191.	1192.	1193.	1194.	1195.	1196.
	A. D.	1782.	1783.	1784.	1785.	1786.	1787.	1788.
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Amount of revenue collected.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
	1,07,988 1 3	3,19,807 0 0	1,39,432 14 0	3,66,928 12 3	4,18,013 5 9	1,15,725 0 0	1,07,474 10 9	4,72,790 0 0

The fluctuations are extraordinary, and the perplexities of a Collector who had to frame a budget estimate on such data could better be imagined than described, but there runs throughout a steady tendency for the revenues to expand, and the collections in 1789 were Rs. 4,72,790.

112. The state of things in 1197 Fashi or 1790 A.D., i.e., just a year prior to the decennial, or more properly speaking nonennial settlement, as it took place in Champaran in 1791, is shown by the following figures taken from a register of that year:—

Number of villages.	Area.	Revenue, including Babra.
1	2	3
	B.	Rs.
1,491½	55,353	3,80,119

The number of villages is almost the same as that given by Hoshiyar Jang, minus the revenue-free ones, but the revenue demand had recovered

from the former depression and had more than doubled itself. As the bigha in Champaran is so variable a quantity, it is impossible to estimate in acres the area furnished, and without this no deductions in respect to it can be made.

The decennial settlement, 1791.
Preliminary enquiries.

113. Before passing on to describe the result of the decennial settlement, I will explain the method in which that settlement was effected.

So early as the 10th August 1787 the Board called upon the Collectors to furnish a plan of settlement of the districts in their respective charges for ten years, in response to which Mr. Montgomery, then Collector of Saran, submitted in May 1788 his proposals, and made the following observations with regard to Sirkar Champaran:—

"The district, I am convinced, will bear the jama mentioned in the enclosed plan, and though it is more than was ever paid before or after the Company's Doweri, yet as it is a large district, and contains an immense quantity of waste lands fit for cultivation, the annual amount of the increase proposed to be put upon that district may rather appear to your Board to be inadequate to what by improvement so large a district ought to pay. But I must beg leave to observe that the most part of the waste lands, from the improvements of which the increase is expected, lies on the borders of the Nipal territories, and on account of the rate of assessment in that part of the country being low, these lands must necessarily be cultivated at a much lower rate than usual in other parts of Champaran."

114. The only other topic of importance that this report touches is the pargana rates. They existed but in name, and instead of there being one rate for the pargana, there were in some cases no less than a dozen rates for one village. This state of things was a serious bar to the enforcement of the Regulation of 1793 for the execution of pattas. In short, with not only rent rates, but standards of measurement existing in extraordinary variety, the Regulation framed for the protection of the raiyats had not the smallest chance of success. Ultimately on the 16th April 1791 he sent up his final report on the proposals for the settlement of Champaran:—

"On the 17th November last" he wrote, "I had the orders of the Governor General in Council relative to the decennial settlement of Sarkar Champaran, and I replied that it was my intention to proceed to the spot for the purpose of forming a settlement for the district conformably to those orders. I accordingly left Chapra in the beginning of December, and on my arrival at Segowli, the most central part of the district, I thought proper to report the publication of those orders throughout the whole district. I remained at Segowli two months, in the course of which I received a variety of claims to different parts of the district, and numerous obstacles and difficulties were brought forward, many of which required references for the opinion of your Board and other long investigations. But in order that the collections of the revenue might not be injured by a delay in the formation of the settlement, I thought it expedient to conclude a nine-years' *bandobast* for the whole district, subject to the approbation of your Board, at the same time submitting at large the circumstances above alluded to for your consideration, and I beg leave to observe that should you be pleased to cause any alteration in the arrangement now made it may be effected without undoing altogether the present conditional settlement."

When we are informed that the settlement was begun and ended in two months, its perfunctory nature requires no further demonstration.

115. The Collector describes in the report how he prevailed upon Bir Keshwar Singh on the one hand and Srikishan and Abdhut Singh on the other to accept settlement of the two parganas each, according to the partition made by the Governor-General in Council, giving both of them distinctly to understand that it was open to them to go to Civil Court for relief. The next question which seems to have troubled him was the claim of several persons to certain portions of the district, which they had held during the period of Jugal Keshwar's expulsion from the British territory, and in which they had exercised rights of mortgage and sale. They were all disposed of in one clean sweep, the Collector engaging for the revenue with Bir Keshwar Singh. The third point of interest was the application of one Har Kumar Dutt Sen for the recovery of 15 tappas, which had actually belonged to his ancestors, but which Lalit Singh, an ancestor of Bir Keshwar, had taken away from them by force of arms, only two tappas and-a-half, viz., Ramgir, Jambauli, and half of Chigwan, now forming the Ramnagar Raj, remaining in their possession. The Collector settled the last-named two tappas and a-half with Har Kumar Dutt Sen, but rejected his claims for the rest.

The only other matter of interest I would refer to is the settlement of tappa, Duho Suho, which is now in the zamindari of the Madhuban Babu,

and has formed the subject of special difficulty on various occasions in the course of the present settlement proceedings. It was then held by Abdhut Singh, a near relation of the Bettia Raja, and the founder of the present Madhuban family, as either jagir from the Bettia Raj or more probably as a maintenance grant. Bir Keshwar Singh wanted it included in the engagement that he entered into, but the Collector resumed and settled it with Abdhut Singh on a jama of Rs. 2,000 only. To complete its history here I may add that it was again brought under resumption proceedings after 1830, and the revenue was raised to Rs. 11,473, at which it now stands.

116. Unfortunately the statement giving exact figures of revenue which the Collector appended to his report is not traceable. The revenue demand of 1791 (decennial settlement). But from a subsequent report, submitted by another Collector in 1793, to which I shall refer more fully when dealing with the second stage, it appears that the jama settled on that occasion, i.e., at the nonennial settlement, was Rs. 3,98,253-6-9, apportioned among several proprietors as follows:—

Serial number.	Name of the proprietor.	Name of tract.	Jama.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5
			Rs. A. P.	
1	Birkeshwar Singh ...	Majhawa and Semraon	2,62,050 2 9	
2	Abdhut Singh ...	Duho Suho ...	2,000 0 0	
3	Srikishan and Abdhut Singh.	Mohsi and Babra ...	1,25,350 2 0	
4	Har Kumar Dutt Son	Ramgir, Jamhauili, and Chigwan.	3,640 15 12	
5	Abhay Churan Mozumdar.	Taluqua Sangrampur ...	4,912 2 0	
6	Umed Singh and Ram Bal Singh.	Mauza Harpur Rai ...	800 0 0	
			3,98,253 6 9	
		Exclude Babra ...	46,826 8 0	
		Balance ...	3,51,427 8 9	

117. So the whole Sirkar was parcelled into six estates, differing in extent from one another, within the widest limits, the greatest comprising two parganas and charged with a revenue of over 2 lakhs, and the smallest consisting of one village assessed at Rs. 300.

118. The first four proprietors, as I have shown above, were the founders of the four great families in the district, viz., Bettia, Madhuban, Shiuhar and Ramnagar. The 5th was the son or nephew of one Jagmohan Mukerji who seems to have played a very interesting part in the history of the Bettia Raj. He was dewan or head Native Assistant to the Collector, Mr. Montgomery, when he concluded the Nonennial Settlement at Segauli. The plaintiff in the great Bettia Raj law-suit, which was instituted in 1808, accounted for his acquisition of Sangrampur Taluka and the *Nimaksayer* (saltpetre) mahal thus:—

"That gentleman (Mr. Montgomery) in 1198 Fasli, proceeded accompanied by the Mukerji to Segowli, and sent thence a *parwana* to Raja Srikishan Singh, the father of your petitioner's client, directing him to attend at the place immediately, as it was expedient to enter into the Decennial Settlement, and the Raja having accordingly attended put in a *darhast* in which he prayed that the *kabuliyat* of the entire *milkiyat* of the Champaran Sarkar might be taken from him.

"Jagmohan aforesaid hereupon proposed that if he would give his sons a document making Sangrampur, &c., comprising 12 villages, their *milkiyat* with the salt mahals in the Champaran Sarkar, and a *mudajri* lease of 18 tappas in pargana Majhawa, at an easy assessment, he would procure the recording of the *kabuliyat* for the whole of the Champaran Sarkar in the name of the father of your petitioner's client.

"But he considering the estate to be his own rejected the corrupt overture. Jagmohan being hereupon displeased with the father of your petitioner's client made a similar proposal to the defendant, Bir Keshwar, and concluded with telling him that if he would accede thereto, he (Jagmohan) would by some contrivance or management obtain the filing of Bir Keshwar's *kabuliyat* for the Majhawa and Semraon pargana."

119. The plaint goes on to say that Bir Keshwar agreed to the proposal, and executed an instrument in favour of Jagmohan's sons and nephews on the lines desired by him. That the whole transaction was manifestly dishonest is apparent. The Collector, Mr. Sunder, reporting in 1793, records the following observation in respect of this job:—

"It is evident that Mr. Montgomery must have been deceived with respect to the assets of the parganas of Majhawa and Semraon, which are the property of Bir Keshwar Singh, and the manner in which the lands have been rented by Bir Keshwar proves in my opinion beyond dispute, that the Raja and Jagmohan Mukerji combined in causing the deception."

Yet Mr. Montgomery in his report on the Nonennial Settlement quoted above, speaks of this gift of taluka Sungrampur to the sons of Jagmohan by Bir Keshwar Singh as the only *bona fide* affair of the class in the whole Sirkar! No trace is now found of Jagmohan's descendants, and it is quite probable that his small estate has since been merged into the Bettia Raj.

120. Thus ends the period immediately preceding the Permanent Settlement, and its history can be truly said to have centred round the Bettia Raj. It began with the expulsion of Raja Jugal Keshwar Singh and a steadily declining revenue; it ended with his descendants, and relatives secured in the enjoyment of the proprietary rights assigned to them, and a revenue which since 1773 had more than doubled.

(iii) *The Third Period—Permanent Settlement.*

121. We now enter on the third period—that dealing with the Permanent Settlement, and its immediate effects.

122. It would appear from a perusal of the Nonennial Settlement report that the Collector, to do him justice, did not contemplate that this settlement would be confirmed in perpetuity without those modifications that experience would prove to be necessary. Further enquiries were made, but a great fire overtook the Chapra Collector's office on 19th May 1792, and destroyed most of the results of his labour, and it was not until the May of 1793 that the Collector was able to submit a final report on the proposal.

123. The Collector's principal method of enquiry was to compare the settlement of 1791 with the rentals since realised by the zamindars from their underfarmers and raiyats, as shown in the books of the village patwaries. The main result was to prove that Bir Keshwar Singh was greatly underassessed, his mufassal jama or gross rental being Rs. 3,95,704, while his revenue had been fixed at Rs. 2,62,059 only. Hence he obtained a profit of Rs. 1,33,645, or more than 30 per cent. of the assets, whereas he was entitled to only 10 per cent. Sri Kishan Singh, on the other hand, was assessed at Rs. 1,25,350 Government revenue, his rental being Rs. 1,42,117. His profit therefore was only just over 10 per cent.

124. It is to be regretted that the old correspondence does not trace the effect of those discoveries on the revenue-roll, but I am glad to say the omission is more than supplied by a register kept in the Collector's office, purporting, as an English note annexed to it shows, to contain a copy of all the settlement slips in which the landlords recorded their engagements at the Decennial Settlement. I quote the figures giving pargana totals below, and, as they are in excess of those noted above, I think they are the ones ultimately declared permanent:—

			Rs.
Pargana Mehsi	...	...	78,532
Ditto Semraon	...	...	14,430
Ditto Majhawa	...	...	2,92,625
Total	...	...	3,85,587

The settlements of 1582, 1773 and 1793 A.D. compared.

125. In the following table the assessments of 1582 (Akbar), 1773 (Hoshiyar Jang) and of the Permanent Settlement are placed in juxtaposition :—

PARGANA.	REVENUE IN RUPEES.		
	1582.	1773.	1790.
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Mehsi	87,900	51,858	78,532
Semraon	12,502	7,343	14,430
Majhawa	37,373	80,188	2,92,625
Total	1,37,835	1,39,389	3,85,587

The main portion of the increase in revenue is again found to the credit of Majhawa. In Mehsi and Semraon the revenue was not doubled, whereas in Majhawa it was almost quadrupled, with the result that the great disparity between the extent of Majhawa and its revenue as compared with the rest of the district, was to a certain extent diminished.

126. The statement below shows, tappa by tappa, the difference for the Majhawa pargana in revenue in 1773 and 1790 :—

NAME OF TAPPA.	Name of thana.	REVENUE IN RUPEES.		Percentage of increase.
		1773.	1790.	
1	2	3	4	5
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rajpur Soharia ...	Bagaha ...	...	835	...
Chigwan Bataara ...	Bagaha and Shikarpur ...	8,861	37,034	318
Manpur Chaudand ...	Bagaha ...	1,406	8,141	478
Balua Gondauli ...	Shikarpur ...	1,687	9,032	435
Deoraj ...	{ Ditto ... }	{ 1,929 }	6,949	{ 1,223 }
Chanki ...			5,080	
Gopala ...			3,506	
Bhabta ...	{ Ditto ... }	{ 3,441 }	1,514	...
Sathi ...			8,192	140
Balthar ...	Adapur and Bettiah ...	...	2,337	...
Kharida ...	Bettiah ...	13,500	30,346	124
Patjirwa ...	Do. ...	1,982	12,709	541
Sonawal ...	Gobindganj ...	1,461	14,332	887
Sugnon ...	Bettiah and Motihari ...	10,966	23,308	112
Balas ...	Adapur and Motihari ...	4,853	16,436	239
Madhwal ...	Motihari ...	7,703	11,366	47
Mando ...	Motihari and Kesaria ...	4,321	2,826	34
Jaffrabad ...	Ditto ...	1,151	2,561	122
Olah ...	Gobindganj ...	1,198	2,971	147
Harnataud ...	Ditto ...	4,003	4,091	2
Sakhwa ...	Ditto ...	5,220	4,343	16
Daulata ...	Gobindganj and Kesaria ...	6,546	30,943	372
Ramgir and Jamhauli ...	Shikarpur ...	...	8,640	...
Miscellaneous, including Nimakaur.	.....	...	50,133	...
GRAND TOTAL ...	...	80,188	2,92,625	...

The variation ranges within the widest possible limits. Indeed, we begin with a decrease of 34 per cent. in one of the southern tappas, viz., Mando, situate on the borders of thanas Motihari and Kesaria, and end with an increase of 1,223 per cent., in the northern tappas of Deoraj, Chanki, and Gopala, in thana Shikarpur. The fact is the revenue-rolls both of 1773 and 1790, were not based on the results of any detailed measurement, or even enquiry. The procedure was little better than guess work, so the consequence noted above was inevitable. Subject to this condition it is noticeable that in 1790, some of the northern tracts omitted in 1773 were assessed, notably Rajpur Seharis, Bhabta, Balthar, Ramgir, Jamhauri, &c. Again, as might have been expected, the greatest increase was obtained in the northern part of the district.

127. This register also furnishes details of area in bighas. The size of the bigha in Champaran may be anything from 3 acres to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre, and there is no specification of the bigha used in this register; but since the old revenue-rolls were based on Todar Mall's original Tumari jama or standard assessment, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that his bigha of 3,600 square ells was the one adopted. At any rate it affords a fair all-round average.

128. Proceeding on this assumption, I reproduce below a statement comparing the area and incidence of revenue in each pargana in 1790 with the corresponding figures of Todar Mall's assessment:—

PARGANA.	Area.		Revenue.		Incidence per acre.	
	1582.	1790.	1582.	1790 A.D.	1582.	1790.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Acres.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Mehsi ...	65,070	138,317	87,960	78,532	1 5 0	0 9 0
Semraon ...	8,352	67,795	12,502	14,430	1 7 0	0 3 6
Majhawa ...	26,002	460,412	37,372	2,47,773	1 6 0	0 9 0
	99,424	666,524	1,37,835	3,40,775	1 6 0	0 8 0

From this statement I exclude certain miscellaneous mahals of Majhawa, for which no area is given, though revenue is noted.

129. It is apparent that, while the revenue had trebled itself since 1582, the incidence per acre fell from Re. 1-6 to As. 8. This means a light assessment on large areas reclaimed since Akbar's time. The difference in incidence between these two periods is most noticeable in Semraon, where it decreased from Re. 1-7 to As. 3-6, but there the area increased from 8,000 to 67,000 acres, or eight-fold. In Mehsi and Majhawa the incidence fell from Re. 1-5 and Re. 1-6, respectively, to As. 9.

The incidence of revenue, tappa by tappa, in 1790.

130. The statement below shows the incidence tappa by tappa in 1790:—

Tappa.		Incidence.	
		Rs. A. P.	
Pargana Mehse—			
Havoli Harihara	0 9 0
Serauna	0 12 0
Salempur	0 6 9
Hadiabad
Average	0 9 0
Pargana Semraon—			
Nonaur	0 3 6

<i>Tappa.</i>		<i>Incidence.</i>		
		Rs. A. P.		
Pargana Majhawa—				
Rajpur Soharia	0	0 9
Chigwan Batsara	1	3 1
Manpur Chaudand	0	1 9
Balua Gondauli	0	15 9
Deoraj	0	4 0
Chanki	1	3 9
Gopala	1	4 9
Bhabta	1	3 0
Sathi	1	4 9
Balthar	0	6 0
Khadda	0	11 0
Patjirwa	0	10 3
Sonewal	0	12 0
Sugaon	0	6 9
Bahas	0	5 6
Madhwal	0	5 3
Mando	0	6 9
Jaffrabad	0	8 6
Olaha	0	12 9
Harna Tand	0	11 6
Saklwa	0	6 6
Daulata	0	10 3
Average			0	9 0
District average			0	8 0

Excluding the Majhawa tappas, tappa Serauna, which is the closest to Tirhut, and also very fertile, fittingly heads the list with As. 12. In Majhawa pargana the incidence is so low as 9 pie in Rajpur Soharia, the tappa in the extreme north-west of the district, and As. 1-9 in Manpur Chaudand, which is co-extensive with Dhanaha outpost of Bagaha, and is situate on the Gorakhpur side of the Gandak. But the incidence in many other tappas, notably in Chanki, Deoraj, Gopala and Sathi of Shikarpur, where it is double the average and even more, appears inexplicable, unless either their area is under-estimated in the register, or was calculated according to a larger bigha. On the other hand, there will be found indications referred to in Part II of this report of Shikarpur having enjoyed high agricultural development in early times. For instance, it is difficult to explain otherwise the small size of the villages.

131. I shall now refer briefly to the permanent settlement in some of its broader aspects. It will have been seen that the standard complaint made against the permanent settlement of having conferred on mere farmers the status of proprietors cannot be applied in the case of Champaran. Here the settlement was made with Rajas or local chiefs, whose ancestors for generations had exercised sovereign authority in the tract, and had as high, if not a higher, status as the feudal barons of England.

132. I have already remarked, in the absence of fixed pargana rates, how impossible it was, with rates of rents and standards of measurement variable, for the provisions of the permanent settlement, framed for the benefit of the raiyat, to be otherwise than nugatory.

133. In spite of what, in comparison with previous methods, may be called, the care taken to ascertain assets for the permanent settlement defaults in the payment of revenue were frequent, and the provisions for the execution of *pattas*, while failing to afford the raiyats any protection served no doubt at first, as the Collector pointed out, merely as a hindrance to the landlords in realising their rents.

134. In September 1794 the Collector addressed to the Board a letter on the subject of these defaults, from which the following extracts are reproduced:—

"These peoples say the circumstances will not admit of their paying the balances due from them in less than four years." Again, 'I cannot prevail on this man to agree to pay up the arrears due from him at an earlier period than three years.' Later on, 'I am unable to believe the justness of their declarations, with regard to their inability to make good the arrears due from them

at an earlier period than 10 years." One instance more, 'I am sorry to inform your Board that the most diligent search for this man has proved unsuccessful!' These remarks are sufficiently characteristic of the difficulties from which the Collector still suffered in administering the land revenue.

135. Of the two big estates in Champaran, the Shiuhar Raj suffered very grievously. Embarrassments of the Shiuhar estate. Rajas Dushta Daman Singh and Ganga Prosad Singh submitted a representation to the Board, in submitting a report regarding which, in December 1800, the Collector wrote:—

"I have the honor to inform your Board that the settlement of the estate was concluded in 1198 Fasli for the sum of Rs. 1,25,858, but so far from the revenues being punctually discharged, my predecessors had been under the necessity, with the approbation of your Board, of selling at public sales Rs. 78,156 annas 10 gandas 19 dam 1 of this property; consequently, on my arrival in this district, they had remaining Rs. 47,207-3 of the above original settlement, at the end of which year a further sale of the estate took place under my superintendence, amounting to Rs. 20,073-8, and in the Fasli year the property was reduced to Rs. 27,127."

136. So the area of the estate had come down to a fourth of its original proportions in six years. But the Collector had hardened his heart. He continued:—

"It is my intention, provided it meets your approbation, to institute a prosecution against these people in the Dewani Adalat of this zilla, as a very necessary example to others from making complaints so totally void of truth, and only calculated to occasion trouble to the Collectors, and which, if not checked, must interrupt him in the most important duties required of him."

137. It seems that the portions of the Shiuhar estate brought to sale Cause of the increase of estates in Champaran. must have been disposed of in small lots. It was probably recognised that in the state of disorganisation then existing, the Champaran estates, like many in Bengal, were too big for the management of a single zamindar. This opinion indeed, as has been shown, was definitely expressed by a former Collector with regard to Champaran as the reason for advocating settlement with farmers. Thus the farming system was held to be justified in Champaran, because estates were too big; in Tirhut, and Saran because they were too small. Hoshiyar Jang shows Champaran as containing seven mahals in 1773 including Babra. By the settlement of 1791, Babra being excluded, Champaran was constituted into six mahals. The first mahalwar register extant after the permanent settlement is dated 1821, and according to it, Majhawa pargana was comprised in three mahals, one Aheraulia absorbing nearly all the area. In Semraon pargana there was only one estate, but Mehsi pargana contained no less than 77. The increase in the latter case was due, no doubt, to the sale of Shiuhar properties in parcels for successive arrears of revenue. Thus there were in 1821 81 estates in the district, but it is difficult to trace how these multiplied to over 1,000, the number at present on the revenue-roll. Partitions have never been numerous. Resumptions no doubt were largely answerable for the increase, and with them I will deal later.

138. On 29th December 1801 a series of questions were addressed by the Governor-General in Council to the Collectors Regulation VII of 1799. on various topics connected with district administration. One of the questions enquired whether the law relating to realization of rent from raiyats was quite effective. To this the Collector replied that it was, without being oppressive to the raiyats. His opinion as to the effect of Regulation VII of 1799, on the raiyats did not do credit to his judgment. I believe it, however, to have been due more to the settled order of things that had supervened than to the Regulation that the amount of jama to be sold for arrears, during this year was Rs. 1,517 only in both the Sirkars, or less than Rs. 2 in a thousand of the whole revenue.

139. These queries also alluded to the hope so strongly cherished by the authors of the Permanent Settlement, that it would lead to the improvement of estates, extension of cultivation and amelioration of the condition of the raiyats. On these subjects the Collector replied that the zamindars looked more to the immediate advantages derived from their property than to constructing works of permanent utility. They

were, however, in his opinion, conducting themselves with more moderation and a greater attention to the principles of good faith in their transaction with the raiyats, and the condition of the latter, the Collector adds, had decidedly improved. The new purchasers were reported to be more alive to the necessity and utility of improving their estates than the old class of zamindars. As to increase in cultivation he estimated, "where 60 bighas in 100 were in cultivation formerly, 80 or more, are now in that state," and revenue-paying lands were, he said, in a better state of cultivation than revenue-free.

140. The advisability of encouraging the redemption of land revenue was at the same time brought under discussion, but the subsequent attempt made here as elsewhere ended in failure.

141. The Collector in reporting on the material resources of the district, said that among the chief products were opium, tobacco, saltpetre, barley, linseed and cotton. The chief crops. Opium cultivation was reported to be in a prosperous condition, but there is no mention of indigo or paddy. Indigo had probably not been introduced, but the omission of paddy is strange. No less than six descriptions of rupees were then in currency.

142. The Collector of 1811 did not view Regulation VII of 1799 with the same approval as his predecessors had done. A change of sentiment towards Regulation VII of 1799. He wrote "that the 7th Regulation of 1799, which empowers the zamindars, talukdars, and farmers to distrain and sell the personal property of their under-raiyats for arrears of rent is greatly abused by them, cannot be doubted, but to find a remedy for the relief of the raiyats that shall not virtually operate against the Regulation in question, which was framed under the necessity that then existed, of affording to the proprietors of land the means for facilitating the realization of their dues from their raiyats, and consequently the more punctual discharge on their part again of the demand of the Government, is an object more desirable than perhaps easy to be effected."

143. It was no doubt apprehension for the security of the revenue, which caused Regulation V of 1812, to be a half-hearted measure insufficient to bridle the arbitrary powers conferred on the zamindars by the preceding Regulation.

144. Between the years 1814 and 1816, another series of questions was again addressed by Government to District Officers. It appears from the Collector's report that the land revenue showed an increase of Rs. 25,000 for both the Sirkars of Saran and Champaran since 1790, due to "annexations, reversions of small estates to Government by default and various other causes." The excise revenue had risen from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 76,000. The stamp duties returned a ten-year average of Rs. 10,833 per annum. He calculated the area of rent-free lands to be 166 square miles likely to yield, at a moderate estimate, no less than four lakhs of revenue, a calculation singularly near the mark, as will be evident from what I shall say hereafter on the result of resumptions in the district. The whole report is a mine of information and will be again drawn upon.

145. This period closes with the passing of Regulation XII of 1817. The truth had been already recognized that effective administration was impossible without more exact and detailed information of rural economy. A village agency was sought for. This Regulation therefore was passed with a view to reorganize the patwaries, but it was ineffective. The patwaries were placed under dual control. Their subordination to the zamindars prevented them from affording adequate protection to the raiyats, and the zamindars did their best to evade the provisions of the law.

The Fourth Period—The Resumption Proceedings.

146. The chief interest of the fourth period centres round the resumption of revenue-free properties. In Hoshiyar Jang's register as has been stated, 228 villages with an estimated rental of Rs. 33,974 were noted as being unassessed to revenue.

No area was given. In 1202 Fasli (1795A. D.), however, kanungoes were deputed to report the extent of *lakhiraj* lands, after local inquiry. The following table summarizes the result then obtained :—

Pargana.				Area.	
				B.	c.
Mehai	...	...	...	17,001	8
Majhawa	...	...	...	55,745	10
Total				72,746	18

No village names are furnished, and these enquiries were therefore probably suspected to be defective. This led to the preparation of another register in the same year in which fuller information was supplied. From it the following figures of revenue-free lands are obtained :—

Pargana.		Village.	Area.	
1		2	3	
			Bigha	k.
Mehai	...	125	28,916	5
Majhawa	...	150	98,309	17
Semraon	...	18	6,895	8
Total		283	1,34,211	10

It will be clear from the above that in the latter attempt, the landed interests in Mehari pargana were more fully investigated, and those of Semraon touched for the first time. Later on in 1207 fasli, corresponding to 1800 A.D., another register was opened, the columns of which show that it was intended to record *lakhiraj* interests at the request of parties, according to Regulation V of that year. It was a failure. Consequently in the year following (1208 or 1801A.D.) another requisition seems to have been made on the kanungoes, who filed an elaborate register, which omitted, however, the most important detail, viz., area.

147. Matters seem to have been left in this state, until the passing of Regulation II of 1819, which gave a fresh impetus to the investigations, and led to the compilation of a big book under the name of "*Ketab-Lakhiraj, San 1231*," but virtually containing information in various forms compiled from the years 1229 to 1233 Fasli, or 1822 to 1826 A. D. It appears from this that the revenue-free area in each pargana was as follows :—

Pargana.				Area.		
				Bighas	k.	D.
Majhawa	...	...	...	75,433	7	10
Mehai	...	...	...	4,723	8	5
Semraon	...	...	...	3,654	10	0
Total				83,811	5	15

Judging by former estimates, these were too low, but, however, that may be, this much is clear that the efforts to prepare a record of the rent-free or revenue-free properties had so far proceeded on wrong lines. The only agency employed in the investigation were kanungoes, corrupt and ill-paid, who overwhelmed the Collector with a hopeless mass of statements, unsystematically prepared, and inaccurate, which were incorporated into registers, with high-sounding titles.

148. But the worthlessness of such methods had come to be realized, and it was in 1822 that the Government of India initiated the policy of survey and settlement. Regulation VII of 1822 was passed, which regulates the settlement of most temporarily-settled estates in Bengal up to the present day, and I believe of all settlements in the North-Western Provinces.

149. As early as February 1823 the Collector of Saran addressed a communication to Government, representing the difficulties in the enforcement of Regulation II of 1819, the most prominent of which was the impracticability to determine with even an approach to accuracy, whether a particular area was within or beyond a revenue-paying estate owing to the permanent settlement having been made without any specification of boundaries. The Governor-General in Council decided that in every case, where settlement had been made for big talukas without any enumeration of villages, the enquiries should be directed to find out whether the particular area in question was or was not then included within that taluka. But when the estate which had been described by a list of villages, contained any area not lying within those villages, that area must be held to be liable to assessment. The benefit of the doubt, however, was always to be given to the zamindars (*vide* Government order, dated 30th July 1823). This was followed on 19th October 1826, by detailed instructions as to the points to be considered in settling revenue after resumption—

- (a) The determination of boundaries of the area under assessment with sufficient details about the *minhai* lands to be excluded.
- (b) Details of area of cultivated land under each crop, the estimated produce per bigha, and the average value of the produce.
- (c) Rate of rent for each class of land, and the extent of each under cultivation, with the total amount of rent paid.
- (d) Area of *batai* or *bhaoli* tenures, with a note as to the nature of the produce paid.
- (e) The detail of culturable lands not cultivated.
- (f) Abwabs.
- (g) The determination of the status of the raiyats with the privileges and obligations of each.
- (h) Village servants and so forth.

Thus the Government found its way round to the approaches to a sound and scientific system of settlement.

150. About this time Regulation No. III of 1828 came into force, and special Commissioners were appointed and rules framed for their guidance, but little or no progress was made for three or four years, as we find the Collector of Saran, in his letter to the Commissioner, dated 25th August 1831, admitting that not a single resumption had taken place in his district till then. The situation was reviewed by Government in a letter, dated 17th September 1833, in which the work done since the promulgation of the Regulation II of 1819 to 1831—32, was pronounced to be extremely unsatisfactory. A vigorous attempt was made to overhaul and reform the whole system. It was laid down that both the aggregate and detail survey corresponding to the present traverse and cadastral surveys would be done by one professional party, and the settlement authorities were to confine their enquiries to the cultivated area of each holding, special advantages possessed by it, as regards fertility, position, irrigation and cognate matters in assessing the Government demand. They were divested of all judicial powers, which were transferred to the civil courts, except in the cases in which the cause of action might have arisen within the year of the settlement proceedings. A special subordinate agency was created by the appointment of Deputy Collectors. Special Judges were posted to each district or revenue division.

151. The procedure, briefly put, seems to have been as follows:—

Special informers or *goendas* were encouraged by rewards and assurances to lodge information of invalid *lakhiraj* grants, and special officers, taking the clue from the *kanungoes'* returns and registers of revenue-free properties, described above, were deputed to the *mufassal* to pick up the assessable cases.

The revenue-free holders were then given the option between accepting a summary assessment as a matter of compromise or a detailed ascertainment of assets by survey and settlement. The line of appeal against Special Deputy Collectors' orders regarding the liability of a property to assessment lay through Special Judges in the first instance to the Special Commissioner. The Deputy Collectors, after survey, ascertained the resources of a property under assessment, and on this information a covenanted officer drew up a report containing his assessment proposals, which, with the remarks of the Khas Mahal Superintendent, went up through the Special Commissioner to the Board for confirmation.

152. The question of resumptions at that time engrossed the attention of the Administration. The Collector of Saran, responding to a call by Government, submitted a statement on 14th August 1834, estimating that 493 mahals were liable to come under resumption in Sirkar Champaran. It was reported that 65 of these mahals were brought to notice by *khas khua* or special informers, and the rest were ascertained from the old registers and kanungoes' papers. Almost simultaneously, on 16th October 1834, the Collector submitted another report, shewing the work done up to date. In about 210 mahals the operations had commenced, but he was sorry to say that till then not one of them had been brought to completion. Consequently, on his recommendation, special covenanted officers were appointed to control the operations. Mr. Ashton in subordinate charge in Champaran, another covenanted officer in Saran, and Mr. Hodgson in charge of both.

153. The operations seem to have been carried on very briskly for the next 10 years. Many and varied points of settlement interest appear to have engaged the attention of the authorities during the period, some of which, taken from the old correspondence in the Saran Collector's record-room, are noticed below.

154. A very able and interesting report was submitted by the Khas Mahal Superintendent to the Collector on what he calls the unjust and impolitic method of making reductions in the rent demanded from the raiyats of the higher caste. The question was viewed from the various stand-points of old established custom, social economy, encouragement to cultivation, &c., and the conclusions arrived at were decidedly against tolerating it. The system has survived this condemnation. It was found in a village, by name Kotwa, of tappa Jaffrabud, a locality quite near to the place referred to in the report in question. The plea of high caste privilege was raised in defence by the raiyats of this village, when sued for enhancement of rent under section 30 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The issue was decided in favour of the raiyats, and the decision confirmed on appeal.

155. The relative rights of *khudkasht* and *pahikasht* raiyats, these being the only two classes of raiyats then recognised, formed the subject of another interesting report, dated 26th May 1840.

156. Where the invalid holders were recusant, they were superseded, an allowance of 10 per cent. *malikana* being assigned to them, but everything was done to diminish the inevitable unpopularity of these operations. The settlement was made permanent, except where the waste area was noticeably large, revenue for the first six months was invariably remitted, and by an order passed in 1840, the revenue assessed in a large number of cases was reduced by half, with retrospective effect from 1829. Lastly, all action was withheld in the case of areas less than 100 bighas.

Heavy fines and strong action were necessarily required to enforce the attendance of parties and production of documents, and in the case of Champaran, the Bettia Raj was a special obstacle, for, having itself appropriated many *lakhiraj* grants, it was interested in using its influence to conceal their existence and obstruct their assessment.

157. The bulk of the resumption operations seems to have been finished by the end of the year 1841, when the khas mahal office was made over to the Collector to be wound up. I have been unable to discover any final statement of the amount of revenue assessed in the course of these proceedings.

There is an old register giving the area and revenue assessed for all the lands attached and resumed under Regulation II of 1819, and from it the following statistics have been obtained:—

PARGANA.	Number of mahals.	Area in bighas.	Revenue.	Incidence per bigha.
1	2	3	4	5
			Rs.	Rs. A. P.
Mehsi ...	106	27,131	22,166	0 13 0
Semraon ...	4	2,918	3,070	1 0 9
Majhawa ...	315	1,13,835	78,304	0 11 0
Total ...	425	1,43,881	1,03,540	0 11 6

The revenue shown in this register to have been assessed, if added to that fixed at the permanent settlement, brings the total revenue of the district up to very close upon five lakhs. It therefore coincides approximately with the present land revenue demand, which is Rs. 5,14,375. The incidence cannot be worked out in acres, because in pargana Majhawa standards of measurement, varying from $11\frac{1}{2}$ *haths* to $6\frac{1}{2}$ *haths*, appear to have been adopted during the resumption proceedings. In Mehsi and Semraon, however, where a bigha is generally slightly more than an acre, the figures are intelligible. The comparison of rent or assets to revenue I reserve for a later chapter.

The Fifth Period—Professional Survey.

158. The fifth period can be said to have inaugurated the system of scientific professional survey. The revenue survey of 1843—49 was the first professional village survey undertaken on a comprehensive plan in these provinces. It originated from the need, which had grown pressing, owing to the prevalence of disputes, of mapping the boundaries of villages and estates. The procedure adopted was the same everywhere, and has been explained in the Muzaffarpur report. The following table, taken from Mr. Wyatt's Revenue Survey report, summarises the result:—

PARGANA.	Number of estates.	AREA—		Revenue.	Incidence per acre.
		In acres.	In square miles.		
1	2	3	4	5	6
				Rs.	Rs. A. P.
Mehsi ...	360	225,940	353.03	1,10,240	0 7 9
Semraon ...	117	123,175	192.46	19,810	0 2 6
Majhawa ...	1,492	1,498,449	2,341.32	3,73,137	0 4 0
Raj Ramnagar ...	474	442,917	692.05	5,550	...
Total ...	2,452	2,290,481	3,578.86	5,08,737	0 3 6

159. We notice Raj Ramnagar treated for the first time as a separate pargana, but it has all along been considered as a portion of Majhawa, and has also been similarly treated in our survey records. The figures for pargana Babra have been excluded. The amount of revenue is less than the present figure by only Rs. 8,000, which was perhaps added by subsequent resumptions, there being no Government or temporarily-settled estates of any importance. The number of estates, however, as given by Mr. Wyatt, appears to be wrong, as the present figure is only 1,075, or less than half what he shows. The revenue surveyors often had hazy ideas as to the distinction between a village and estate, and probably the discrepancy is due to this cause.

160. The full significance of these figures cannot be realised without Incidence of revenue, 1882, comparing them with what obtained in the days of Akbar and Lord Cornwallis:—

PAROANA.	Area in square miles.			Incidence of revenue per acre.		
	1582.	1790.	1845.	1582.	1790.	1845.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
				Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Mehai	101	216	353	1 5 0	0 9 0	0 7 9
Semraon	13	105	192	1 7 0	0 3 6	0 2 6
Majhawa	41	720	3,033	1 6 0	0 9 0	0 4 0
Total	155	1,041	3,578	1 6 0	0 8 0	0 3 6

All the figures teach the same tale—a largely increased cultivated area, a largely decreased incidence of land revenue. Mehai is without doubt the pargana that has been throughout most carefully assessed.

161. At the permanent settlement, the estimate of area for pargana Mehai was the nearest approach to the correct figure. It is ascribable to the fact that the village Mehai was a sadar or chief station in North Bihar, when the Company first acquired possession of the province, and being such, its immediate neighbourhood was the best known. Semraon, too, owing to its proximity to known tracts in Tirhut, was not so seriously under-estimated. But Majhawa, in all its immensity, bade defiance to the revenue assessor of 1790. Making all allowances for wrong *laggis* and hill and jungle, the fact remains that a very large area went unassessed in 1790 in this pargana.

162. The following statement compares *tappa* by *tappa* the area as assessed area of 1790 and 1845, ascertained in 1790 and as ascertained in compared *tappa* by *tappa*. 1845:—

Serial number.	NAME OF TAPPA.	Area in square miles.	
		1790.	1845.
1	2	3	4
1	Rajpus Soharis	28	126
2	Chigwan Batsara	48	283
3	Manpur Chaudand	110	135
4	Bahua Gondauli	14	50
5	Deoraj	6	29
6	Ohanki	6	26
7	Gopala	4	21
8	Bhabta	3	11
9	Sathi	9	44
10	Balthar	9	55
11	Khadda	68	294
12	Patjirwa	30	208
13	Sonewal	29	87
14	Sugaon	87	190
15	Bahas	74	235
16	Madhwal	54	135
17	Mando	10	29
18	Jaffrabad	7	13
19	Olaha	6	13
20	Harnatand	8	19
21	Sakhwa	17	41
22	Daulata	74	175
	Total	701	2,269

The tappas appear here in their geographical order from north to south. The list omits Belwa, Duho Suho, Ramgir, Jamhauli, &c., as their areas are not given in the register of 1790.

163. Here again we find the difference of area in the northern tappas greater than the southern, or; in other words, the major portion of the area that escaped assessment is to be found in the north. There appear to be two reasons—deliberate concealment of areas on the part of the zamindars, and incompleteness of the patwaries' jamabandis, for it is a notorious fact that these jamabandis, if they are accurate at all, are so only in respect of the area under cultivation, or in settlement with the raiyat, so that the vast areas unreclaimed or cultivated surreptitiously at that period were disregarded.

164. The only other professional survey prior to the present operations carried out on a large scale in Bihar was the diara survey of 1865-66. It received legal authorisation from Act IX of 1847, and was carried out with the object of assessing to revenue all alluvial formations outside the area of permanently-settled estates as mapped at the time of the revenue survey. The revenue of estates that had been subjected to diluvion was similarly to be reduced. I have explained in the Muzaffarpur report that without a relaying of the traverse stations of the revenue survey, the diara survey must have been conducted on unsound principles. It was in Champaran also, as in Muzaffarpur, a financial failure, for the very simple reason that not only the banks of the river, but even the river itself had been mapped by the revenue survey, as included in some village or other.

165. I need not repeat that there is a large diara area in the district, owing to its being entirely flanked on one side by the big Gandak. The total area, therefore, that was then surveyed came up to 351,177 acres, or 548 square miles, against an area of 331,485 acres, as shown by the revenue survey for the same portion. There was thus an excess of 19,692 acres, or 20,000 in round number. As the whole of the tract concerned is within pargana Majhawa the property of the Bettiah Raj, the assessment of the whole increase practically was disposed of in one case. On the 27th July 1868, the Raj was asked to show cause why the revenue should not be assessed on these lands. A month later, it came out with a long reply, the long and short of which was that the permanent settlement made with the Raj covered the whole of pargana Majhawa, without any specification of boundaries and areas, so that Government had no right to ask for any increment of revenue for any land that was within the pargana. It was pointed out that a *parwana*, dated 11th September 1818, distinctly absolved the Raj from any liability for revenue for excess areas like *taufirs* that might be found within its limits, and that an attempt was made in 1849 to assess 50 *diara* blocks which, on a similar objection being preferred to the Board, was vetoed (*vide* Board's letter dated 17th June 1849). The whole question then went up to the Board, and it was ultimately held in Board's letter No. 128, dated 14th July, 1868, that the Raj was not liable for further assessment for the excess in question.

166. There remained then a few petty proprietors, mostly former owners of revenue-free mahals, but subsequently brought under resumption when those operations were in hand. They were of course assessed, and the result of these large operations was a legacy of a few temporarily-settled estates of little value.

The following are the particulars of them :—

	Name of the estate.	Tappa.	Former revenue.			Present revenue.			REMARKS.
1	2	3	4			5			6
			Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
1	Malkauli Patkhauli	Chengwan Batsara.	67	7	0	47	0	0	The present settlement is to last for 15 years from 1891.
2	Chbarki Diara ...	Patjirwa ...	7	8	0	74	8	0	
3	Gopalpur Masanthan	Daulata ...	53	13	0	142	9	0	
4	Khutwania ...	Patjirwa ...	301	14	6	431	8	9	
		Total ...	430	10	6	695	9	9	

167. I may add here that the only other temporarily-settled estate in the district is Sirokahia, tappa Sugaon, settled in 1891 with the Maharaja of Bettia. The revenue is progressive and will reach Rs. 332 in the year 1901. It will then be declared permanent. There were two other villages—Puchbaria, tappa Mando, and Ramnagar Panditwa, tappa Patjirwa by name—detected by the diara survey in tappa Mando and not entered in the above list. They are under the river, and not borne on the revenue-roll.

168. The only Government estate in the district is Ghornarwa, tappa Manpur. It was made *khas* in 1831 under Regulation II of 1819, and is now in lease to the Maharaja of Bettia for Rs. 155-1 a year. In all, then, there are 6 temporarily-settled estates, including the Government estate bearing a revenue of Rs. 1,178 only, or 2 per cent. of the total demand.

The Sixth Period—Modern Era.

169. The sixth and last period, that is, from 1850 up to the present day, has been, as I have said, one of great legislative activity in the Department of Land Revenue. It has seen the enactment of the Revenue Sale Act, the Land Registration Act, the Bengal Tenancy Act, with the amending Act of 1898, and the two partition Acts. No good purpose would be served by an attempt to trace the rent law from the preliminary discussions that occurred in 1875-76 up to its final development into Act VIII of 1885, and of its results this report in the chapter on statistics and elsewhere treats at length. The history of land revenue administration in Champaran can therefore be fittingly concluded with a short account of the operation of the revenue sale, partition and land registration laws in their practical application to this district.

170. In the third period of this chapter it has been described how the estate of the Shiuhar Raj came to grief. Portions of it were from time to time sold up to meet the Government demand, until it was left with but one-fourth of its former area. Champaran from that time until 1866, when constituted a separate district, has no distinct history of its own. No doubt the Collector of Saran suffered from troubles similar to those found in Tirhut, which seem to have resulted from delay caused by the necessity for obtaining the Board's sanction before sale, and the great reluctance to accord that sanction. With estates so few in number as they are in Champaran, however, the number of sales has necessarily been always insignificant. In the decade 1866-67 to 1875-76 the average number of sales per annum in this district was one only, the next decade returns a similar figure. For the decade 1886-87 to 1895-96 it was four only.

171. In respect of partitions, too, Champaran returns a negligible quantity, as the following statement comparing the number of partitions that have occurred in all the districts of the Division for the same three decades will show:—

Serial number.	Name of the district.	Average per year of the first decade (from 1866-67 to 1875-76)	Average per year of the second decade (from 1876-77 to 1885-86)	Average per year of the third decade (from 1886-87 to 1895-96)	Average for all years.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Patna ...	29	150	93	90	
2	Gaya ...	22	19	40	27	
3	Shahabad ...	33	36	84	50	
4	Saran ...	27	26	31	28	
5	Champaran ...	7	5	7	6	
6	Tirhut {	134	253	105	204	
7		...	63	67	...	
	Average for all the districts in the Division.	36	77	61	58	

Thus it is seen that in Champaran the average annual number of partitions is only 6.

172. With so few estates little work is done again in the Land Registration office. The annual average number of mutations registered since 1866 is only 154. To enable the Land Registration Department to bring their registers up to date, copies of the settlement *khewats* were furnished and the entries examined with those in Register D. The Collector as a result found, I believe, the defects in his registers to be few. Large proprietors naturally take care to comply with the law in this respect.

173. Thus it is seen that the duties of the Collector of this district in connection with the administration of the land revenue are very light. Champaran returns less than 2 per cent. of the total number of estates in the Division, and in spite of its size, only 6 per cent. of the land revenue demand.

PART II.—THE PRESENT OPERATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

PROCEDURE AND PROGRESS.

174. In this chapter, I will furnish a sketch of the progress made from year to year in each stage of the survey and settlement operations. It will necessarily be brief, for nothing would be gained by reviewing again in this report these discussions on general questions already dealt with in that of Muzaffarpur. General questions which in their application to this district bear special significance, and points of interest peculiar to it, will be dealt with at greater length.

175. Mr. Colvin assumed charge of his duties, as Settlement Officer of Champaran, in December 1892, and the operations in Saran, the traverse survey of which was begun in March 1893, were also placed under his control. To Mr. Colvin the credit of initiating the work in both of these districts is due. He retained charge, with the exception of one short interval, until February 1895, when ill-health compelled him to take privilege leave, on return from which he acted as Collector of the district until the following November. Meanwhile Mr. Lyon, Settlement Officer of Muzaffarpur, was appointed to the charge of the operations in these two districts also. Mr. C. A. Bell was placed in subordinate charge of the Champaran settlement until July, when he went on leave, and was replaced by Mr. Kerr, whose connection with the operations has ceased only with their close.

176. In April 1895 the Saran operations were definitely separated from those of Champaran, and placed under the subordinate control of Mr. Gauntlett, with head-quarters at Siwan. In March 1896 Mr. Colvin, on his transfer to the Political Department, permanently severed his connection with the settlement operations. On the 9th of that month I relieved him, and have since then been in charge of this and the other North Bihar settlements. The Assistant Settlement Officer in charge of the head-quarters office, on whom a heavy load of responsibility has always lain, was Pandit Rama Ballabh Misra.

177. On the 17th November 1891 a notification was published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, extending Act V of 1875 to this and the other four districts of North Bihar. This was done to legalise the traverse survey which was begun at that time. Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act was extended to the district piecemeal, so that the provisions of section III, ousting the jurisdiction of the Civil Court in regard to questions of rent and status, while the settlement operations were proceeding, might not be brought into operation sooner than was necessary. The following is a list of notifications issued and their object:—

List of notifications notified under section 101(1), Bengal Tenancy Act, VIII of 1886.

Number.	Tappas notified.
1	2
4291 L.R., dated 13th December 1892	{ Tappas Khadda and Patjirwa and Snguon.
132 L.R., dated 10th January 1893 ...	
4169 L.R., dated 3rd October 1893 ...	
4567 L.R., dated 8th September 1894	Tappas Mando, Sakbwa, Sonwal, Harnaland, Olaba, Jafrahad, Madhwal, Daulata and Belwa. .
4568 L.R., dated 8th September 1894	Pargana Mehni.
4569 L.R., dated 8th September 1894	Pargana Semraon.
4570 L.R., dated 8th September 1894	Tappas Duho Suho and Bahas.
4571 L.R., dated 8th September 1894	Tappas Balthar, Bhabta, Gopala and Nathi.
4538 L.R., dated 14th October 1895	Tappa Rangir.
	Tappas Jamhauli, Chunki, Deoraj, Gondani, Balua, Manpur Chaudand, Rajpur Sobaria, Chigwan Batsara, and Chigwan Dun.

TRAVERSE SURVEY.

178. The traverse survey was commenced in 1891-92, but only 238 villages, covering 363 square miles, were completed before recess. During the next season 1892-93, 1,103 square miles, contained in 697 villages, and 230 *tolas* were traversed before March, when the traverse party was transferred to Siwan. In the following year, 1893-94, the traverse survey was completed for an additional 1,320 square miles. In 1894-95 126 square miles were traversed, completing the district area, except some *diara* tracts, covering 386 square miles, which were surveyed in the following year. Thus the area brought under traverse survey, year by year, was as follows:—

Year.	Area in square miles.
1	2
1891-92	363
1892-93	1,103
1893-94	1,320
1894-95	126
1895-96	386
Total area	3,298

179. The remaining area of the district is the stretch of hill and jungle along the north border of the district, which is now being surveyed topographically. Its area is approximately 250 square miles.

CADASTRAL SURVEY AND PRELIMINARY RECORD-WRITING.

Cadastral survey and khamapuri.

180. The following table shows, year by year, the actual progress made in cadastral survey and preparation of preliminary records after the work was started in October 1892 in the southern portion of Bettia thana:—

YEAR.	CADASTRAL SURVEY.			KHAMAPURI.			Name of thana.
	No. of villages.	No. of plots.	Square miles.	No. of villages.	No. of plots.	Square miles.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1892-93	331	354,193	416	301	354,404	330	Bettia and Gobindganj.
1893-94	399	461,888	517	359	460,449	509	Bettia, Gobindganj and Motihari.
1894-95	1,079	1,365,608	1,168	1,079	1,365,608	1,170	Motihari, Kesaria, Madhuban, Dhaka, Adapur and Bettia.
1895-96	1,092	615,480	1,149	1,092	615,480	1,149	Begonia, Bettia and Shikarpur.
Total	2,841 (a)	2,892,369	3,240	2,841	2,892,369	3,244	

(a) The discrepancy with the Survey Office figures has been explained in the section on "Total area."

181. In 1892-93, out of a programme of 500 square miles, only 416 square miles were surveyed, and for only 320 square miles were records written, the reason for the deficit being the experiments in the utilization of local agency to which I shall refer later. At the beginning of the following season these arrears were cleared off, and fresh ground broken in thanas Motihari and Gobindganj; the work completed during the season being, Cadastral survey, 517 square miles, and khamapuri 599 square miles.

182. In 184-95 the programme for cadastral survey and record-writing was very heavy, comprising as it did 1,168 square miles, situated in thanas Gobindganj, Kesaria, Madhuban, Dhaka and Adapur, in the Sadar sub-division, and, in addition, the northern part of the Bettia thana. Two survey camps were employed. Furthermore, the work in the southern part of the district was more complicated than elsewhere, owing to the large number of

petty proprietors, the conditions approximating to those prevailing in the adjoining thanas of Muzaffarpur. In the northern area, the chief difficulties arose from the disputes between the Madhuban Babu and his raiyats concerning rents. The actual outturn of work was—Cadastral survey 1,162 square miles, record-writing 1,176, the excess of the latter being due to the disposal of arrears pending from the previous year. In season 1895-96, the survey and record-writing of the remaining portion of the district were completed. Two survey camps were again employed, the area being 1,185 square miles, comprising the whole of the Bagaha and Shikarpur thanas, and the portion of Bettia thana bordering on the river Gandak to the west. The plots were large, and the work extremely simple. It was completed without difficulty by the end of March.

183. I will now discuss the points of interest that arose during this stage of the operations.

184. Although the attempt to utilize local agency for the preparation of the preliminary records has been described in the Muzaffarpur report, Champaran was the only district in which the attempt was made to rely entirely on that system unsupplemented by any other. It therefore deserves more than a passing reference here.

185. In attempting to train patwaris to survey and write the record in their own villages, the object was three-fold—

Firstly to save the villagers from the petty exactions and annoyances almost inseparably connected with the presence of a foreigner in the village;

Secondly—To train up a local agency, which should be capable of maintaining the record of rights after it had been prepared; and

Thirdly—It was argued that the work would be better and more cheaply done by a man who knows every field and raiyat in the village than by an entire outsider.

The system of registration of patwaris in the Collectorate has always been more complete in Champaran than in the other districts of North Bihar; and much of the land being held by big zamindars, the proprietary interests in a large number of villages are vested in single proprietors, whose patwaris therefore are genuine village units. For these reasons, it was anticipated that little difficulty would be experienced in controlling the men, and setting them to work in their own villages.

186. A training school was opened in Motihari for the instruction of patwaris in survey and record-writing; and 152 persons, who were all either patwaris or the relatives and assistants of patwaris, were given instructions in this kind of work before the field season of 1892-93 began. Owing, however, to the want of experience of the training staff, the training in record-writing was incomplete, and it was found that the men worked so slowly as to render the completion of the year's programme impossible, without a very considerable strengthening of the staff. In the month of January, therefore, steps were taken to obtain fresh recruits. One hundred and sixty new men were enrolled, but the supply of patwaris had been exhausted, and none of this fresh batch of men had any connection with the villages under survey, or any special qualification for their duties beyond the fact that they were natives of North Bihar. Thus, one of the chief advantages claimed for the patwari system by its advocates, viz., that the work would be done by persons intimately acquainted with the village, was lost at the outset. Even among the first batch of men it was found that very few, who were registered patwaris, actually worked in the field. They almost invariably sent their relatives to act for them, on the plea that they had urgent work to do for the landlords; and this too, in spite of the fact that they were allowed four annas a day in order to provide a substitute to do their ordinary work. The men who really did the survey and *khasanpuri* were found to be as follows:—

Registered Patwaris	...	...	27
Relatives of registered patwaris	...	...	125
Outsiders (enlisted subsequently)	...	...	160

187. Thus the system of local agency for record-writing was predoomed to failure from the outset, and the difficulties of the Settlement Department in

supervising this mixed and half trained staff were greatly increased by the method of payment adopted at the beginning of the work. It was arranged during the first season with the Bettia Raj, which owns nearly the entire area then under survey, that the daily wage should be disbursed to the amins direct by the Raj, or by its tenure-holders and there was at first no check on the amount of work done each day. The supervising staff also was insufficient (Mr. Colvin, the Settlement Officer, being single-handed until February), and the amins naturally took advantage of the opportunity, to do the smallest possible amount of work. In February, however, all this was changed. A form was introduced to show each amin's daily outturn of work. A minimum outturn was fixed, failing the completion of which the amin was debarred from receiving his full daily wage; and the payment to amins was taken out of the hands of the Raj and its tenure-holders, all sums being henceforth disbursed through the Survey Office. The result was a marked increase in the outturn of work done, but the change came too late in the season to enable the full programme to be completed. Instead of 500 square miles surveyed and *khanapuried*, the actual outturn was only—

Surveyed	416 square miles.
Khanapuried	320 " "

while the system of direct payment by landlords, of the wages of amins left a legacy of confusion in accounts, which greatly retarded the recovery of costs, and has only recently been cleared up by the Settlement Department. In Champaran this experiment had everything in its favour, the co-operation of a powerful landlord (the Bettia Raj), and his tenure-holders and patwaris, who were nearly all registered, and therefore amenable to control, and who generally had entire jurisdiction over complete villages. Nevertheless, it was a failure. The law officers decided that their new duties were not such as by Regulation XII of 1817, the patwaris could be compelled to perform. They could not be induced to work themselves, but sent their relations instead. Moreover, it was at first found that all idea of making use of the patwari as a means of keeping up the record of rights, must be abandoned, owing to the fact that he was frequently found to have large landed interests in his own or adjoining villages. Then, owing to the opposition which all the zamindars and the planting community displayed towards a system of maintenance which introduced the patwari, the scheme for maintaining the record by village agency was abandoned. Sir A. P. MacDonnell substituted officers of a higher status called land record-keepers, with control over several villages. But though this scheme, for reasons given in the Muzaffarpur report, never received a trial, yet its introduction destroyed the last shred of argument in favour of utilizing the patwaris for cadastral survey and record-writing.

188. The old forms of *khassra* contain headings for entries of field-rates and field rents, and in the Muzaffarpur report I have given an account of their origin. The Commissioner of Patna insisted on the necessity of entering field-rents, for subsequent use in partitioning estates. Mr. Lyon argued that field rents did not exist, but favoured the entry of field-rates, because although they bore little relation to actual rents, they might prevent the wholesale enhancement of rents by means of partitions.

189. Mr. Colvin, looking at the question from the point of view of his own district, was strongly opposed to the entry of both. He reported on the 23rd May 1893, that nearly every raiyat could state his rate of rent, but on enquiry being pursued further, it appeared that the rate he quoted was not the rate on the particular field under *khanapuri*, but the rate on his whole holding. "Even so," he continued, "it is only a figurative rate agreed upon between him and his landlord, and if multiplied by the actual number of bighas which he holds, it will, very seldom, if ever, give the total rent which he actually pays." He did not omit to notice that in some cases raiyats did hold lands at different rates, raising a presumption, that the rates were regulated by the quality of the soil. But the actual facts pointed to a different conclusion. In all such cases, the double rate was due "either to the raiyat holding under two different landlords, or to his having taken up the holding of an absconded cultivator at that cultivator's rate at the same time, preserving his own lands at his own rate."

As a general result of his enquiries, he found, ordinarily, a raiyat was given both good and bad lands, and an all-round rate was fixed for his whole holding, after due consideration of his caste, the amount of *salami* he paid to the landlord on entry into his holding, and the like. Investigations on applications for the settlement of fair rents have corroborated his conclusions. In short, he said that all that he could record, was the average rate of a holding against each of its fields; and as this average did not appertain to that particular field, the entry to that extent was misleading.

190. As to field-rents, he was still more uncompromising. While admitting the desirability of recording them specially for Batwara purposes, he denied that field-rents did exist at all in Champaran; and if they were considered indispensable, he said they would have to be created, which would be "a gigantic undertaking." He summed up his conclusions thus:—

"In any case the least suitable place for any experiment of the kind would be, in my opinion, the Bettiah subdivision" (which was then under operations). "The conditions which are, I believe, found most favourable for the development of field rents, are thick population, with a consequent competition for land, and high cultivation and the division of the land among numerous petty proprietors. In Bettiah none of these conditions exist; there is still much waste land in the subdivision; the population is comparatively sparse, cultivators will break new ground rather than fully cultivate that which they already hold; and the land is mostly owned by one large proprietor. In course of time these things will no doubt change, the process is in fact going on rapidly at present; and it may be, that, with the change, the field-rents will also develop, especially if the subject is borne in mind, when fields change hands, by those who may be responsible for the maintenance of the records. But any attempt to create and record field-rents now, would be, if not an abortive attempt to anticipate history, at any rate an endeavour opposed to the natural order of events."

191. His recommendations were that the column for "rate of rent" in the *khasra* should be abolished, and a column for "rent" be substituted, with instructions to the amin that where a lump rent was paid and field-rents were unknown, the lump rent would be entered in the *khasra* against the first plot of the holding, and a reference to the entry against the first field would be made in the case of subsequent fields. Of course, where field-rents existed, they were to be entered against the field concerned.

192. The Director submitted the question to the Board in his No. 1875 T.A., dated 21st July 1893, in which he recommended that columns for "rate of rent" as stated by the tenant, and "rate of rent" as stated by the landlord be retained in the *khasra*, but that a further column for "rent" be added and filled up as suggested by Mr. Colvin. But it being ruled by the Government of India that rents were to be entered at attestation by the Revenue Officer, it followed that entries of this nature could not be made by amins in their *khasras*.

193. I have traced the history of the discussions that centred round the subject of this paragraph in the Muzaffarpur report, but it gave rise to so much controversy that I offer no apology for making a further reference to it here. It has there been described how in the field season of 1892-93, a departure was made from the rules prescribed by the Survey and Settlement Manual, and amins were ordered to record both status and rent in the *khatians*; how Sir A. P. MacDonnell directed this procedure to be abandoned in favour of that laid down by the Survey and Settlement Manual, requiring entries of rent and status to be made by the Revenue Officer at attestation; how Sir Charles Elliott, on his return from leave, reopened the question, and how, as a result of its discussion by the Calcutta Conference, it was decided that Inspectors should make rent-lists, but that amins should still continue to record the rents, as stated by landlord and raiyats, a scheme that was found unworkable, and subsequently superseded under instructions from the Government of India, directing that all entries of rent and status should be made by the Revenue Officer at attestation. While this discussion was in progress, the Settlement Officers were freely consulted; and Mr. Colvin, regarding the question from the conditions of his own district, was strongly of opinion that, whatever the agency, the balance of advantage "was in favour of having rents recorded at the *khanapuri* stage." He continued:—

It undeniably reduced work at attestation, and so far as the result of last year's *khanapuri* has been tested, the entry of rents was correct in a large number of cases." (Letter No. 377, dated 15th December 1893, to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture).

194. As to status, his views were largely dependent on the agency employed. He was opposed to entrusting to the patwaris the duty of making this entry, as they could not grasp the technical distinctions involved, but with the abolition of the patwaris, and the substitution of the amin, the balance of advantage was again entirely on the side of having this column also filled up at *khanapuri*.

195. He further observed that the orders prohibiting entry of rent and status "practically undermined the system of joint survey and settlement establishment at the *khanapuri* stage." In his opinion, it was only in supervising entries like these that the system of joint control was justifiable, or called for; as mere writing of boundaries and names of landlords and tenants could perfectly well be done by a purely survey establishment.

196. Mr. Colvin's experience was derived from dealing with villages belonging to the Bettia Raj. He had not been brought into contact with villages where complicated proprietary interests existed, or with unscrupulous landlords ready to adopt any device fair or foul, to turn the operations to their material advantage. A wider experience would have served to modify these views.

Mr. W. C. Macpherson, the Director of Land Records, very strongly favoured the entry of rent and status at the *khanapuri* stage. He wrote:—

"If the amin does not fill up the columns, "Rent according to landlord" and "Rent according to tenant," these columns must be filled up by attestation muharrirs at the Revenue Officer's camp, to which it may not be so easy for the parties to bring their *jamabandi* papers, *lakhats*, &c; and the entries must necessarily be made in haste, for the Revenue Officer cannot stop for more than a day or two in a village or at an attestation centre, nor can he himself make or even thoroughly supervise the making of lakhs of entries at this stage." Again, "what chance is there of the real disputes about status being thoroughly enquired into at attestation time, if the Revenue Officers' time is taken up in making the record of status in thousands of cases, in which there is no dispute, and if it be left to an attestation muharrir to record the status, is it likely that in the hurry of reading through scores of *khatians*, and hundreds of field numbers, the attestation muharrir will make more correct entries with regard to status than an amin well instructed and carefully supervised would make in the field?"

197. I need not repeat the argument set forth in the Muzaffarpur report against the entry of rent and status by Inspectors and amins at the *khanapuri* stage. I am strongly of opinion that, had this system been persisted in, the result would have been, in Muzaffarpur, a far higher average rate of existing rent and in Champaran, where, owing to a sparse population, this abuse of forcing up rents is not so prevalent, fewer rent disputes. In regard to status the result would have been a large decrease in the percentage of raiyats, holding a settled or occupancy status. A corroboration of this view is afforded by the status statistics for the first year's operations in both districts. In Champaran no less than 43 per cent. of the holdings attested were returned as held by non-occupancy raiyats. The Board said that, while admitting "that the tenants of Champaran are less fixed in their residence than those of most other tracts, they were not prepared to expect that 43 per cent. of the tenants in any part of these provinces have not acquired occupancy rights." Mr. Colvin had the entries re-attested, with the result that as many as 1,263 of the tenants entered as non-occupancy were found to enjoy occupancy rights. The original mistake, it was reported, "was due to the fact of tenants holding *batai* lands, prior to their *ticca* holdings, frequently not being taken into consideration, nor was sufficient enquiry made as to whether the tenant hold lands in the village other than those included in the particular *khatian* under attestation." The percentage of non-occupancy raiyats, as a result of these enquiries, was reduced from 43 to 20 per cent., but the highest figure since reached in this district has been only 12 per cent., in spite of the operations having since then been conducted in tracts where agricultural conditions are much more unsettled than in the south of Bettia thana.

198. It follows that, with a large part of the district owned by big proprietors, with very few and petty revenue-free properties, and with few subordinate tenures, that the *khewats* in the district were extremely simple.

199. Mr. Colvin took a prominent part in the discussions on the principles which should be observed in the preparation of this part of the record of rights, but the question has been reviewed in the Muzaffarpur report, and as its practical application to Champaran is of limited extent, further reference to it

is unnecessary here. The tenure-holder's *khewat* is generally as straightforward a document as the proprietary *khewat*. Factories held *mokarari* or *ihitadari* leases for large areas, often for whole villages. Petty native *thikadars* and rent-free holders are fairly numerous in the south of the district, but a sub-tenure-holder is a rarity.

200. It is not unusual in Champaran to come across large villages comprising over 10,000 fields, and covering an area of 10 square miles. Indeed all previous records have been beaten by a village called Semra Labedaha in thana Bagaha, consisting of above 15,000 plots and measuring 42.9 square miles in area. For the completion of the survey and record-writing of a village of such magnitude in a single season, special treatment was necessarily required. The difficulty was not touched by the provisional *khanapuri* instructions of 1892-93. In February 1893, Mr. Colvin in his letter to the Director of Land Records, No. 63, dated 23rd of that month, suggested the following rule, which rather increased the difficulty than removed it:—

“Where one village consists of two distinct parts, if it is shown as one village in the Collectorate mauzawar register, it should be treated as one village; only one *khawra* being prepared for both parts; the first number in the second part being in continuation of the last number of the first part.”

By the end of the season, the Settlement Officer had become convinced that separate *tolas* with separate rent-rolls, should be dealt with as separate villages, a view in which the Raj concurred.

201. In the next season's rules, therefore, it was provided that wherever a revenue survey mauza consisted of two or more detached portions, or was unusually large, it was for the Settlement Officer to decide whether there should be one *khawra* or more than one. The rule worked very well where the distinct portions or *tolas* had separate *jamabandis*, and its practical effect was to raise very many *tolas* to the status of villages, as will be evident from the fact that the total number of villages now surveyed in Champaran (including those since transferred to Saran) is 2,860, as against 2,500 found by the revenue survey in 1845. It must be admitted that though the operations were based on the revenue survey village, as a primary unit, this procedure has led in some cases to a modification of the principle. But I do not regard it as a cause for regret that some of these huge unmanageable villages have been subdivided into areas more suited to the requirements of a higher degree of agricultural development.

202. But in a large number of big villages held by a single proprietor, the rent roll was not separated *tola* by *tola*. In these cases there is often a *tolawar jamabandi*, but it is prepared not according to the *tola* in which the holdings are situated, but to that in which the tenant resides, so that the system of splitting up big villages for record-writing required still further elaboration.

203. Villages of this kind were apportioned arbitrarily to two or more amins, each amin using a different serial for the sheets of the map assigned to him for record-writing. There were thus as many plots with the number one as there were amins, and portions of a single holding were usually *khanapuri*ed by separate amins. These portions had to be brought into a single *khata* during recess, the plot numbers being distinguished by the addition of the name of the *tola*. This procedure, however, never worked very satisfactorily. Confusion arose from the plot in one *tola* being entered in place of the plot of another *tola*, bearing the same number; and many mistakes and omissions were made in bringing together all the plots of a single holding. Thus, Mr. Bell, who was Assistant Settlement Officer in charge, wrote on 9th March 1895, in an inspection note:—

“I watched the *bujharat* and attestation in progress in Sangrampur, a large village. The Survey Office had given different *khata*s for different sheets of the map. The combination of all these into one *khata* caused a very great loss of time. The complaint is

204. The difficulty was eventually overcome by the introduction of the *charaukh* system whereby several amins wrote the record, one serial being maintained throughout. But it was never introduced into Champaran, and belongs to a later period of history.

205. An important reform introduced during the year 1893-94, was the abolition of *khatian* writing in the field. Hitherto

The compilation of the *khatian* in the field.

the *khassra* and *khatian* had been filled up simultaneously, a special muharrir being retained to write the latter. His appointment originated from the experiment to utilize local agency. For when it was found that the patwaris were often unregistered, and, even when registered, entirely under the zamindars' control, in order that the raiyats' interests might be protected, they were called on to appoint a man of their own as muharrir, to serve as a check on the patwari. Needless to say he afforded no check, being as subservient to the patwari as the patwari was to the zamindar. This plan was abandoned, and the muharrirs were appointed by the Survey Department. But it was found that the *khatians* prepared in the field came into our hands badly written and in bad condition. As all the information required for writing them up was to be had from the counterfoil *parcha*, and as the *khatians* were not required until attestation, it was decided to postpone the *khatian* writing until the recess. This reform had the further incidental advantage of enabling the Survey Department to employ a smaller staff, and to keep them employed continuously throughout the year.

206. In the Muzaffarpur report I have explained how an attempt was made in Saran to give practical effect to the plan of

Extraction of areas in the field.

area extraction in the field, so that those interested might at once become acquainted with the area of their fields, as recorded by the Survey Department, and how the work was found to be so inaccurate and expensive, that it had to be abandoned. The experiment was not tried in Champaran; had it been, another practical difficulty of a very serious nature would have been brought into prominence, and one that Mr. Colvin, in reporting on this subject, did not fail to point out. To be brief the standard of measurement varies almost from village to village, and the amin would have been at an absolute loss to know by which standard to convert his areas. At the commencement of these operations, all the areas were converted according to the *pargana laggi* of the revenue survey, with the result that, while in one village the raiyats were thrown into anxious concern at finding the surveyed areas of their holdings much smaller than what they were conscious of actually possessing; in a neighbouring village, they were equally concerned to find their landlord intent on claiming increased rent on a fictitious excess. In several of such cases reconversion of areas had to be done, and from 1894 onwards, the practice was introduced of ascertaining at *khanapuri*, the various standards of measurement in use, and the Survey Department was instructed to convert its areas according to the one most prevalent. It is needless to enlarge on the practical difficulty which would have resulted from an attempt to extract areas in the field under the special conditions most marked in this district, but commonly met with throughout Bihar. Mr. Colvin in letter No. 198T.C., dated 23rd December 1894, wrote:—

"If this course had been followed in Champaran, the result would have been to fill the minds of the tenants, not with an impression of the value of the work, nor with any sense of satisfaction, but only with absolute perplexity."

207. The difficulty of communicating these areas to those concerned in sufficient time to admit of their being able to study the areas they are called on to attest, has been surmounted by the introduction of separate area slips that are distributed well ahead of attestation. The system has been described in the Muzaffarpur report, but belongs to a period of the Bihar operations, later than the Champaran settlement.

208. When the operations started, the procedure hitherto adopted of

Survey and record-writing for village sites and homestead lands.

surveying village sites in blocks was followed, but this point soon attracted attention, and a conference of local officers, held in December 1892, decided that detailed survey should depend on whether or not rent was paid. The Board's orders were that the houses of non-agriculturists could be surveyed in blocks, but those of agriculturists must be surveyed in detail. As, however, the houses of both classes are generally intermixed, the necessity arose of surveying all village sites in detail, and the scale of 64"=1 mile was finally adopted, as that most suitable for the purpose. The question then arose whether retrospective effect was to be given to the Board's order. Mr. Colvin pointed.

out the extent of extra labour that such a course would involve, and that as all agriculturists held their holdings rent-free in Champaran, it would suffice were a note put on each record that homestead lands in the village were not separately surveyed and recorded, but that the custom of holding them rent-free prevails in the village. Mr. Lyon, Settlement Officer of Muzaffarpur, was similarly averse to a revision of all the village site survey done in the previous season, and the Board accepted the recommendations of the local officers.

209. Then arose the question as to where a rent-free homestead was to be entered, and the Director and Mr. Colvin agreed in thinking that it should be entered in the *khatian* of the raiyat's holding, a note being made of the fact that it was held rent-free. The Board prescribed this procedure, but the position of the homesteads of non-agriculturists was not then considered. The practice, however, has always existed of entering them on the landlord's *gair-masrua khatians* without any specification of house-rent, and the Bihar *khanapuri* rules have provided that they should be so treated. The only case in which house-rent is entered, is where an agricultural tenant pays a house-rent separate from his agricultural rent on his homestead. The amount of house-rent is then entered in the remarks column.

210. The provisional rules of 1892-93 provided for the entry of the mortgagee's name after that of the mortgagor-tenant-in-chief in the raiyat's column, and of the amount of advance in the remarks column of *khosra* and *khatian*. Mr. Colvin, by way of supplementing this rule, suggested in February 1893, that the nature of the mortgage should be noted, that is, whether with or without possession; that mortgages of a part of a holding should be entered only in the *khosra*; and that mortgages of whole holdings even should only find a place in the *khatian*, where the mortgagor was an occupancy raiyat, or notice of the mortgage had been given to the landlord. This procedure was adopted during the first season, but was subsequently cancelled by the Board, who directed that mortgages without possession should be entirely disregarded, and that the amount of advance should be omitted, so that neither party might be prejudiced.

211. In the recess of 1892-93, the question was fully discussed, and the following rule drawn up, which still holds good :--

"When the tenant has mortgaged his right, and the mortgagee is in cultivating possession, the name of the mortgagee will be entered after that of the tenant in-chief; and a note of reference will be made of the date of the mortgage deed, if it be produced. No *parcha* or *khatian* will be given to the mortgagee in any case, and no record will be made of mortgages which do not carry possession with them. This applies to part mortgages as well."

The only alteration since made in this rule has been the return to the old practice of entering the amount of money advanced.

212. The provisional rules directed in the case of sales the entry of both tenant and purchaser in the raiyat's column, but gave most prominence to the entry of the purchaser's name there.

213. In the next year, it was distinctly laid down that the name of the transferee should come after that of the transferor, and that there need be no separate *khatian* for the alienated portion; this, in the previous season, having apparently been prepared. In this way care is taken not to prejudice the rights of the landlord to withhold consent to a transfer by sale where custom authorizes him to do so. Indeed, in Champaran, the planting community have always shown the greatest keenness in asserting their right to veto such transfers, and cases have been taken, more than once, to the High Court to strengthen their position in the matter, and with success. Either a heavy *salami* (admission fee) or the execution of an indigo *satta* is the invariable condition they attach to according to their consent.

214. The treatment of District Board roads is one that assumed importance in Champaran, Mr. W. C. Macpherson, the Director of Land Records, discussed the matter with the Manager of the Bettia Raj in December 1892, and in his Notes of

matters discussed in Bihar from the 1st to 23rd December 1892" placed the following on record:—

"*Road lands.*— Mr. Gibbon agreed that in the case of roads which are on the District Board's list, the road lands to the outside of the *liks* where *liks* exist, shall be measured and recorded in the name of Government; waste lands outside the *liks* will be recorded as Raj lands and as being in possession of the Raj, unless actually cultivated by tenants. Trees within five yards of the outside edge of the roads (including the *liks*), except on the Bettia-Gobindganj and Bettia-Motihari roads, will be recorded as being in the possession of the Government. Trees on the two roads named are to be recorded as being in the possession of the Raj. Mr. Gibbon undertook to give the Collector an *ekranama*, admitting the right of Government to take earth within five yards of the edge of the *liks*."

215. No action appears to have been taken to record the right of the District Board road, as contained in the last sentence of the extract, until the recess of 1893-94, when Mr. Colvin wrote to inform the District Engineer that something should be done to protect the Board's rights, as the records surveyed in the preceding year were then being published in draft. This seems to have had no effect, and the time arrived to finally publish those records, when Mr. Colvin again pointed out (to the Collector) in a demi-official letter, dated 18th December 1894, that the matter should be speedily arranged, as nothing could be done after final publication. The District Board in a meeting accepted the terms agreed to between the Director and the Manager of the Raj; and the Chairman requested the Settlement Officer to give effect to it. It was of course out of the question to amend all the village traces. Mr. Colvin, in consultation with the Collector, found a way out of the difficulty by causing it to be inserted—in the column for special incidents in the *khulian*—against all District Board lands, that "the District Board has the right to take earth for repairs up to a distance of 15 feet from the edge of the *lik*, provided there is no crop on the land."

216. The execution of a formal *ekranama*, however, as promised by Mr. Gibbon, appears to have dropped out of sight for sometime, and was revived only in May 1898, when Mr. Maxwell, Collector of Champaran, requested us to draft an *ekranama* for the approval of the Board, with a view to its being executed by the Manager, as the estate had then come under the management of the Court of Wards. A draft was accordingly submitted with our No. 150, dated 16th July 1898, and then the connection of this department with the matter ended.

217. In January 1893 the Director referred, for the Board's orders, the question as to how municipalities should be treated, pointing out that their urban areas being non agricultural, operations under the Bengal Tenancy Act could not apply to them, and consequently a survey and record of right of such areas should be made only at the request and cost of the municipalities concerned. The Board took the same view, and directed that the Commissioner and Collectors should be consulted as to the wishes of the Municipal bodies.

218. Meanwhile the Director of Land Records had consulted the Settlement Officers regarding the proper treatment of agricultural lands situated within municipalities, and both were of opinion that they should be demarcated off from the purely urban area, and surveyed and settled in the same way as ordinary agricultural lands. Mr. Colvin wrote:—

"There seems to me to be no sufficient reason why such landlords and tenants should be placed in a less favourable position than others as regards the recording of their rights, simply because their lands happen to be within certain limits which have been declared to be the boundaries of a municipality."

219. The Commissioner, in expressing concurrence with the Settlement Officer's views, wrote:—

"I agree with the Settlement Officers, who are acquainted with local features, that, as it is possible in North Bihar to distinguish roughly between town or bazar proper, and the agricultural area, the excluded agricultural area should be surveyed, and a record of rights made along with the general agricultural area. As regards the urban areas, I think they should be surveyed in order to complete the operations, but I see no object in making a record of rights in such areas, even if they come within the scope of the notification under the Tenancy Act, No. 206R, dated 17th September 1894."

220. The final orders on the subject are contained in Board's No. 477A, dated 4th April 1893, and follow the Commissioner's suggestions.

*221. The district of Champaran contains only two municipalities—those of Motihari and Bettia. A map of the urban area of Motihari had previously been prepared for the Commissioners. It is, I believe, inaccurate, and it is therefore to be regretted, that the municipality did not seize this opportunity of enlisting the services of the Survey Department, for the preparation of one on which reliance could be placed. The extensive non-urban portion of its area was treated like ordinary agricultural land. The treatment of the Bettia Municipality requires more detailed reference.

222. Early in February 1893, the Manager of the Bettia Raj applied for the survey of that portion of the town belonging to the Raj, at the Maharaja's expense. This requisition covered practically the whole town except a portion known as the Christian *Tola*, owned by the Bettia Catholic Mission, and inhabited mainly by its native Christian converts, for the most part mechanics. It was arranged that the cost of surveying the Christian *Tola* should be met by the Mission and the municipality, half and half.

223. The Raj portion of the urban area of the town was surveyed on the 64"=1 mile scale in 1892-93, and, on its being determined to survey and settle agricultural land inside or outside a municipality, without distinction, its contribution of cost was restricted to cover the expenditure of this survey, and of preparing a skeleton *khassra* of occupancy, drawn out by Mr. Colvin in consultation with the Manager. The *khassra* provided for the names of the proprietors, mortgagees, &c, in addition to the name of the actual occupant, and of the nature of each plot. It was therefore a little more elaborate than the skeleton *khassra* of occupancy used in the case of those municipal areas that have subsequently been surveyed.

224. The survey of Christian *Tola*, however, was considerably delayed owing to the promised funds not being forthcoming from either the Mission or the municipality. On the Commissioner being moved, he directed the municipality to bear the whole costs without waiting any longer for a contribution from the Mission, the estimate being only Rs. 140. The survey was concluded in 1895-96, the area, 10 acres, being surveyed at a cost of Rs. 160.

225. The total results are as follows:—

The total area of the Bettia Municipality is 806 acres, of which 385 acres are urban, and were surveyed on the 64"=1 mile scale. A wall-map of the whole municipal area on the 16"=1 mile scale was also prepared. The total cost was Rs. 892-0-4, of which Rs. 732-0-4 was paid by the Raj, and Rs. 160 by the municipality.

Boundary Disputes.

226. Nine hundred and eighty-eight boundary disputes were filed in this district, thus:—

	Area.	Number filed.	Number decided.	Number of villages.	Number of villages per boundary dispute
1	2	3	4	5	6
1892-93 ...	416	56	53	206	3.7
1893-94 ...	517	57	60	338	5.9
1894-95 ...	1,162	366	362	1,171	3.2
1895-96 ...	1,185	509	513	1,047	2
	...	988	988	...	...

The increase in the number of dispute filed in the last two years is attributable to the special circumstances of the different tracts. In the first two seasons the villages surveyed belong almost entirely to the Bettia Raj. In the area taken up in 1894-95 the Bettia Raj was not so predominant, and the increase was due to the clash of rival interests. The area dealt with in the

last season is held mainly by big estates, but being in the north of the district usually contain large areas of waste on their borders, so that out of pure ignorance as to where the boundary of one village should begin and the other end, boundary disputes were filed for the determination of the point.

227. The result of the appeals against boundary dispute decisions was highly satisfactory. Appeals were filed against only 37 out of 988 decisions. In 34 cases the decisions of the Assistant Settlement Officer was upheld, in one modified and in two reversed. It may be mentioned that all the appeals were decided by the Collector of the district except two heard by me on being appointed Superintendent of Survey.

ATTESTATION.

228. The following statement shows the number of villages, square miles, plots and holdings attested year by year:—

Year.	Villages.	Square miles.	Plots.	Holdings.	Thanas.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1892-93 ...	72	41	34,340	5,992	} Bettia and Gobindganj.
1893-94 ...	229	370	320,154	55,922	
1894-95 ...	369	486	466,888	56,698	
1895-96 ...	1,079	1,133	1,365,698	198,088	} Bettia, Gobindganj and Motihari.
1896-97 ...	490	665	341,511	62,735	
1897-98 ...	602	549	270,975	49,535	
Total ...	2,811	3,214	2,802,566	428,970	} Motihari, Kesaria, Madhubani, Adapur, Bettia and Dhaka.

229. Here, as in Muzaffarpur, an attempt was made during 1892-93 to attest villages brought under survey and *khana-puri* the same season, but no records were ready until the 29th March, so that only those for 72 villages were put through attestation. The experiment was then discontinued and has not been revived. In dealing with large areas, the procedure seems to be an impossible one. There is a great objection to writing up the *khatians* in the field. In the hurry mistakes are made, and the writing being bad and illegible, other errors, both in the field and in copying, subsequently creep in. Then, even if a satisfactory method of writing up *khatians* in the field could be discovered, there is the area extraction to be done, and to eliminate all possibility of error, this process has even now to be thrice repeated by different agencies. Then again the areas when extracted must be entered, not only in *khatians* and *khassas*, but in duplicate area slips, which must be distributed in sufficient time before attestation to give the parties an opportunity for a proper scrutiny before they are called on by the attestation Assistant Settlement Officer to accept them as correct. In addition the independent *partial* of the map must be done, and all the statistical statements compiled. It is evident that after the record-writing is complete, the Survey Department has work remaining to be done, which, for an area of 500 or 600 square miles, must take five or six months. It can therefore, I think, be said definitely that in large settlements the only possible system is for attestation to follow record-writing in another year.

230. The area of 307 square miles, attested in the field season 1893-94, was divided amongst four camps. It was held by the Bettia Raj, partly direct and partly through indigo concerns, the most important of which were Parsa, Laheria, Mallahia and Lal Saraya. This attestation does not appear to have presented any difficulty. The area of 419 square miles, taken up in the

following year, was also apportioned to four attestation camps, and was entirely owned by the three biggest indigo concerns in the district—Motihari, Pipra and Tarkaulia. The only noticeable feature of the year's work was the attestation of Tarkaulia rents. All the factory lands had been privately surveyed some four or five years before these operations began, and its *jamabandis* had been recast in accordance with the results. The new rents were accepted and paid by a large number of the tenants, who made no objection at the attestation stage, but not a few did contest, and showed that they had never paid enhanced rents. The system of set-off, by which indigo accounts are adjusted along with rent, was a further complication. I shall revert to the subject again when describing the settlement of fair rents in this area. The rest of the work was simple and carried through without friction.

231. In the season 1895-96, the programme was very heavy, viz. 1,168 square miles, and 9 officers were employed to deal with it. The chief difficulties arose from the anomalous indigo agreements which the Hardia and Muria factories, situated in Adapur thana, held from many of their raiyats, and the disputes about rents in the villages owned by the Madhuban Babu.

232. The majority of the raiyats in certain villages held by the Muria factory had executed agreements to grow indigo for the factory on 3 kathas per bigha of their holdings, on condition that the factory abstained from raising their rents while they continued to do so. A further provision in the agreement stated that the raiyats shall lose their occupancy rights should they cease to grow indigo. This provision is clearly illegal, and the *pattas* had all expired in 1887 and had not been renewed. Nevertheless, the raiyats have continued to hold their lands under the same conditions, and Mr. Colvin was of opinion that this system of growing indigo was so different from that followed in the rest of the district that some mention of it ought to be made in the record of rights. He accordingly ordered that the fact of the growing of indigo by the raiyats should be entered in the column for incidents of tenancy. But Government was not disposed to accept this view. Meanwhile, the Manager of Muria, under the advice of the Planters' Association, succeeded in introducing the *satta* system, under which the raiyat agrees to grow indigo by a contract, quite apart from that under which he holds his lands and all entry of obligation to grow indigo as a condition of tenancy was leaved from the record.

233. In Hardia there were original agreements to a similar effect, but the cultivation of indigo having been suspended, *manthap*, or so many maunds (usually paddy) per katha on the 3 kathas per bigha, were exacted in addition to the cash rent. At this time, Mr. Barclay of Motipur purchased the concern, and by his singular success in reviving indigo cultivation under the *satta* system removed the difficulty.

234. The Madhuban Babu had been on bad terms with his raiyats for many years. The Babu claimed the fictitious rents entered in his rent-rolls; the tenants invariably disputed them. Fifteen years' litigation and spasmodic collection increased the difficulty of ascertaining what the proper rents ought to be. Taking advantage of the confusion, the zamindar claimed rents at Rs. 8 per bigha; the tenants at Rs. 3. The attestation was carefully supervised, and the rents attested were for the most part at an intermediate rate, or at that claimed by the tenants. The whole dispute was fought out again during the three stages of case work, and will be referred to later.

235. The difficulties experienced in camps E and F, which, working in thanas Dhaka and Madhubani on the borders of Bogus middlemen. Tirhut, had to deal with petty estates, deserve a passing notice. From the outset, the owners of these estates made a determined attempt to break occupancy rights by setting up their relatives and servants as the actual cultivators. In one instance, a bogus middleman was recorded for over 100 bighas, and Mr. Colvin ordered that in all such cases he should be entered as a tenure-holder, the presumption of section 5 (5), Bengal Tenancy Act, prevailing. Mr. Lyon, when he subsequently took charge, directed that fictitious middlemen should be ignored altogether, and that is the practice still followed in all the North Bihar operations. The officers who attested this

area in the following year were instructed to exclude all the middlemen, proved to be fictitious, from the records, in accordance with Mr. Lyon's instructions. These officers were carefully supervised and the work was well done. At the same-time, rents were closely scrutinised; for an attempt was made to force them up, as part of the general plan; and those rents which had been actually paid for three years were recorded.

236. There was another difficulty which involved an interesting legal point, also peculiar to this area. It was found that **Proprietors acquiring rayati rights.** in villages leased to factories, a malik cultivated land himself, paying rent for it to the lease-holder. It was held by Mr. Colvin that the malik was clearly a tenant, and the only description of tenant which he could be was a raiyat. He could not, however, acquire occupancy rights, and should therefore be attested as non-occupancy.

237. The attestation programme for 1896-97 comprised an area of 1185, square miles, i.e., the remainder of the district, excluding the unsurveyed hills and jungle. But as **The season 1896-97.** the cold weather came on, the shadow of famine was **Progress checked by the famine.** already on the land. We started work in November, a month earlier than intended, and in those areas where conditions were most favourable, but only one camp, that located in the Gandak diara, was carried to completion. Six hundred and sixty-five square miles were attested, and 520 square miles, containing 600 villages and 2½ lakhs of plots, were left over for the following season 1897-98, when, the cultivators meanwhile having reaped plentiful harvests, the area was completed without difficulty.

238. Generally speaking, indeed, the attestation work in this district was extremely simple. In most parts the competition for land is not sufficiently keen to render disputes about rents possible, and where waste land available for cultivation is abundant, disputes about possession are necessarily few. As for proprietary interests, except in the south of the district, these are concentrated in a single property. In the south petty proprietors are met with as in Muzaffarpur, but not to the same extent, nor with interests so minute and subdivided.

239. Indeed, our difficulties here arose not from competition for land, but from the ignorance and apathetic indifference of the raiyats as to its actual and potential value. **Chief difficulty—the apathy of the raiyats in regard to their own interests.**

Mr. Kerr, in an inspection note on camp B of 1896-97, situated in thana Bagaha, wrote:—

"It appears that a number of the raiyats hold so much land that they do not cultivate it all in one year. Last year, at *khanapuri*, many of them did not take the trouble to get the portion of their holdings, which was then uncultivated, measured in their names, and it was consequently put down as *gairmazrua*. Now these raiyats' holdings appear in the *khatians* as much smaller than the *jamabandi* areas, and it becomes necessary to map the remainder of their lands which have been included in the *gairmazrua*."

239. It is, in short, usually easier to attain accuracy in framing a record where interests are minute and keenly contested, than where circumstances, such as those described by Mr. Kerr, exist. Mistakes are liable to pass undetected in villages held entirely by one influential zamindar, even where the raiyats are fairly intelligent, because the tenants have been accustomed to look to their landlord for all, and have not learnt the need of self-reliance. Where in addition, owing to the absence of competition, they are apathetic and ignorant of the value of their rights, the difficulties are increased enormously, and Assistant Settlement Officers often had great trouble in inducing them to understand a question sufficiently to give an intelligent answer. The manner in which settled raiyats allowed themselves to be recorded as non-occupancy during the first season to which I have already referred, is a case in point. It is probable that raiyats entitled to hold at fixed rates, often made no attempt to prove it.

240. The position of the Revenue Officer was a difficult and a delicate one. While he had to avoid displaying undue partiality for the tenants, it was absolutely essential that he should labour to protect them against the consequences of their own foolish ignorance. The tenantry of the Bettia Raj is under the circumstances, to be congratulated that they were subordinate to a land-owner who tried to treat them fairly.

241. The attestation procedure followed in Champaran was similar to that which I have described in the Musaffarpur report.

Procedure.

I have already referred to the attempt made to write and attest the record in a single season. In the same year (1892-93) also the old plan of sending a *bujharat* muharrir into the village a few days before the Assistant Settlement Officer's arrival was tried in a few cases, but speedily abandoned in favour of the system whereby the preliminary explanation is done by a staff of *munsarims* working in the attestation camp under the eye of the Assistant Settlement Officer. In the second season an innovation was made in requiring the attestation *munsarims* to correct and arrange the records after attestation. This system has been largely developed since. Every year the delays in completing the records grow less, and the quality of the correction work improves. The more recent innovations, such as the employment of *khanapuri* kanungoes for the disposal of summary disputes at *khanapuri*, which so greatly lightens the work of the Assistant Settlement Officer and of his *munsarims* who correct the record at attestation, and the introduction of triplicate *parcha* slips and of area slips, did not receive a trial in this district, progress under the old arrangements being too far advanced to admit of it.

242. I would now proceed to notice certain miscellaneous points of interest that arose in the course of the attestation proceedings in this district.

Points of interest.

243. Foremost among them is the Bettia Raj *nimak sayar*. As early as 17th April 1895 the Manager of the Bettia Raj

The Bettia Raj saltpetre mahal.

drew our attention to the fact that the Raj owns the entire *nimak sayar* (right to manufacture saltpetre) of the district, both within and without the Raj estates, on payment of a certain revenue, having purchased it direct from Government. In proof of this contention a *sanad* was produced. The Manager of the Raj argued that in estates belonging to other zamindars the Raj should not be recorded as a tenure-holder in respect of the *nimak sayar* right, but as its direct owner; and that the *nuniyas*, who make saltpetre under license from the Raj, should not be recorded as raiyats of the *dih* lands, nor should they get *parchas*, their connection with the land being obviously of a non-agricultural nature. On enquiry it was found that the procedure in recording these lands had varied in every attestation camp. Some gave a proprietary *khewat* to the Bettia Raj for these lands only, though lying in another zamindari; others gave a tenure-holder's *khewat*; and there were also some who did not show the right in the *khewat* at all, but made a note of it in the column of the *gaimazraa khatian*. *Nuniyas* were, in some camps, entered in the raiyats' column, and in others again in the remarks column. Nor was the Raj invariably entered as possessing the right of *nimak sayar* in all estates outside its jurisdiction. In reply to our reference the Collector of Champaran, on the other hand, wrote in his No. 189, dated the 9th May 1895, that "the *nimak sayar* lands are included in the revenue-paying estates within which they are situate, and that they are not treated as a separate estate;" but he learnt from this office that these lands, whether situate within the Raj estates or in estates belonging to others in this district, were in possession of the Raj on payment of certain rent to the other proprietors of the estates other than the Raj.

244. This was in direct conflict with what the Manager had alleged, and a further reference to the Collector was necessary. The Bettia Raj had sent us its *sanad*, which was but a copy, and the Collector after reading its translation, and causing every search to be made for the original in his record-rooms, but without success, pointed out that the *sanad* purported to be a copy of a sale-certificate of mahal Sangrampur along with all *nimak sayars*, and that the Raj seemed to have purchased the estate at a revenue sale held 91 years ago, in default of payment of Government revenue. It, however, passed his understanding how all the *nimak sayars*, borne in estates which had not defaulted, came to be put up for sale in the same lot. But the point whether Government did receive any revenue from the Raj for *nimak sayars* remained obscure, and the Collector was again asked to make a definite statement on the point. He then went deeply into the subject, and his inspection of the settlement papers of Sangrampur, *tanzi* No. 886, disclosed that there was some *nimak sayar* right, described as "mahal *nimak sayar* Darobast Sarkar

Champanan," included in the taluka, and that the Bettia Raj did pay revenue for it. The description, as far as it went, clearly covered the *nimak sayar* of the whole Sirkar, but the Collector was still sceptical, and advised that "the best way of getting at all the facts and arriving at a clear decision would be a case under section 106."

245. It will be of some interest to recall here what has been written on this subject in the chapter on Revenue History. I have there shown how Sangrampur taluka, with the *nimak sayar* mahal of the whole Sirkar, came to be settled with one Jagmohan Mukherji, the Diwan of the Collector, who went to make the decennial settlement of Champanan. The taluka, with *nimak sayar*, was settled in the name of Abhaya Chand and other sons or nephews of Jagmohan, a fact also supported by the register of *daults* of the decennial settlement, prepared in 1197 Fasli, and the very same names are found in the Raj *sanad*, which opens with the declaration that "Abhaya Chand, Gobind Chand, and Anant Chand Mukherji, maliks, defaulted in payment of heavy arrears of Government revenue for the year 1210 Fasli," and so forth.

246. The question was therefore not so obscure or complicated as it looked, but it was decided not to take any final action until further enquiries on the spot about this right had been held by the attestation camps, as the season 1895-96 had already set in. The enquiries had not come to any definite issue when I took over charge of the district, and I then decided that the Raj should not be shown in any *khewat* in respect of this right, but that the land on which this right was exercised should come in the *gairmazrua khatian* of the estate in which it was situate, with a note in the incidence column that the *nimak sayar* right of the village belonged to the Bettia Raj, for the Privy Council have ruled that the ownership of land is in its "site" and the same site cannot belong to two estates unless they hold jointly. The *nuniya* in possession was also cut out from column 2 of the *khatian*, but his possession was noted in the column of remarks against the plot in question.

247. This procedure has ever since been in vogue, and also governs the *nimak sayars* in the villages of pargana Babra, which was formerly in Champanan, but has since been transferred to Muzaffarpur.

248. The question whether embankment cess, locally known as *Bandh Behri*, was or was not to be entered in the records, was one that cropped up in the very early stages of attestation in the district. The Bettia Raj levied this cess from its raiyats, and as the attestation officers hesitated to give it a place in the *khatians*, the Manager moved the Settlement Officer by a special petition dated the 10th February 1894. Mr. Colvin referred the matter to the Collectors of Saran and Champanan for opinion. The former wrote that "so far as tenure-holders and raiyats holding at a fixed rent or fixed rate of rent are not concerned, the cess is an illegal one." His grounds were that, had it been otherwise, the Legislature would have clearly provided for the realization of the cess from ordinary raiyats, and that the Bengal Tenancy Act would not have furnished the landlords with means of recouping themselves for the expenses of such work by permitting enhancements of rent. It was only the tenure-holders or raiyats holding a like status that were liable for the cess, and not the ordinary raiyat. The question was referred to the Director. The Officiating Settlement Officer, Munshi Nadji, stated that he had considered the point in 1892 in connection with the Settlement of the Hardia villages, and held that such cess was leviable as rent from the raiyats, under the Embankment Act, II of 1882 (B.C.), a view which was endorsed by the Special Judge on appeal. By this time Mr. Colvin had returned to his post, and received the opinion of the Collector of Champanan, and also of the Commissioner of the Patna Division, both of whom agreed in saying that the cess should not be entered in the *khatian*, but they also urged the desirability of giving one of the zamindars an opportunity of establishing the legality of the cess by a regular suit. Mr. Colvin, therefore, requested the Manager of the Raj to put in a test-case, and asked the Director to defer action until it was decided. The test-case, however, was never instituted.

249. Meanwhile the opinions of the Settlement Officer and of the Collector of Muzaffarpur were ascertained by the Director. The latter took the view of the majority, but the former opined that the cess was not an illegal one.

The Director submitted the question to the Board in his No. 3123S., dated the 7th November 1895, observing:—

"In my opinion, looking to the provisions of section 74 of the Embankment Cess Act, and to the definition of a tenure-holder which is given under section 3 of that Act, embankment cess cannot legally be recovered from raiyats unless they hold at fixed rents."

The final orders of the Board were conveyed in their No. 1682A, dated the 16th December 1895, and they run thus:—

"As embankment cess is legally recoverable in the same way as rent only from tenures, which, as defined in section 3 of Act II (B.C.) of 1882, include all interests in land held permanently at a fixed rental, or which are held rent-free, cess should be recorded in the *khatians* of such tenures if payable under an order made in pursuance of section 68 of that Act. There is nothing in the Embankment Act which authorises zamindars to realise embankment cess from the raiyats, either as rent or in any other way. The cess should not, therefore, be entered in the settlement *khatians* of raiyats."

250. By far the most important question that had to be decided in the course of the attestation proceedings in Champaran related to the recording of rights in trees. A very animated controversy raged round this subject, in which the Manager of the Bettia Raj and the Secretary to the Planters' Association took a prominent part; and it was not set at rest until a definite order was obtained from Government. The following is a brief summary of the correspondence that led to the passing of that order.

251. The ball was set rolling by a formal application from the Manager of the Bettia Raj, filed as early as November 1894, which gave prominence, among others, to the following points:—

- (a) That there is a custom prevailing throughout the Bettia Raj, to the effect that the tenants have no right to cut down trees without the consent of the landlord, and that the landlord is entitled to a half share in cash or kind in trees felled or uprooted.
- (b) That these rights of the landlord should be recorded in the *khatians*, in accordance with section 102, clause (b), of the Bengal Tenancy Act.
- (c) That this is not now being done, and that the Raj is therefore making applications for entry to be made in the *khatians*.
- (d) That these applications are being rejected, on the ground that the matter is being recorded in the village notes.

Mr. Colvin disposed of the application in the following words:—

"It has been decided that the existence of such a custom may properly be entered in the village note prepared by the Settlement Officer and his staff, where it is found to exist, but that it is not necessary or desirable to enter the existence of the custom on every raiyat's *khatian*, as it cannot be regarded as a special incident of any particular tenancy, being, according to the statement of the petitioner himself, a general incident common to all the tenants."

The Manager, however, asked for a reconsideration of the order, on the ground that the village note was not a part of the record, and as such could not be of any probative value in court. He pointed out that the landlord's rights over trees standing in tenants' holdings were included in "the special conditions and incidents of the tenancy," and as such it was obligatory on the Settlement Officer to record them; but with a view to minimise the clerical labour involved, he suggested that one note of the custom in the record of each village would be quite sufficient.

Mr. Colvin thereupon forwarded the correspondence with the Manager to the Director for orders, further stating that the making of the entry in question would add very largely to, and subsequently result in a heavy increase of, the work, as the entry was not likely to pass without objection in a great number of cases. He repeated the arguments in another letter, bringing to the notice of the Director a similar request from Mr. Macnaghten of the Planters' Association, who put the landlord's view of the question more pointedly by observing that, as the custom in question conferred an undoubted right on the landlord, it ought to find place in the record of rights.

252. Mr. Macpherson, the Director of Land Records, submitted the question in his No. 919S., dated the 26th March 1895, to the address of the Board, deprecating the advisability of making such an entry, but

at the same time pointing out that Mr. Colvin was in error in holding that a general custom like this could not come under the special incidents of the tenancy. As a solution of the difficulty, he suggested that the notifications should be so amended as to enjoin the Revenue officers to record only those special incidents that the Board or Government may direct. His main argument was that we should confine ourselves to the essentials in the writing of the *khatian*, and the right under consideration did not come under that category. He put the point with great force in the following concluding paragraph of his letter quoted above:--

"The more that we can confine the *khatian* to the essentials, the more chance there is that it will live and be maintained. At present the *khatians* which have been written since the record-writing under the Tenancy Act began, are in danger of perishing through their own bulk and weight."

But the Board in their letter No. 444A, to Government, did with the Director, observing that it would not be expedient nor right to alter the notifications in the manner proposed, merely in order to legalise the omission of an entry which was thought to be inconvenient, but to which the landlords apparently attached much value. According to them it was desirable to allow the landlord to prove the custom in every village, and to make a statement of it, should it be proved, in the beginning of each *khatian* volume, noting at the same time the names of the tenants against whom the custom was not proved.

253. Meanwhile, as a result of further discussion with Mr. Lyon and Mr. Macnaghton, who pointed out that the planters had to advance large sums to the Bettia Raj to take lease of this right, the omission of which would greatly prejudice their interest, Mr. Macpherson addressed another letter to the Board modifying his former proposals. He now recommended that the respective rights of landlords and tenants in trees, fallen or cut, should be recorded in the *khatian* against the plots which contain trees, including bamboos, but he would not allow the Revenue officers to make entries in the *khatian* with regard to right to plant trees, &c., &c. (*vide* his No. 1198S., dated the 19th April 1895).

The Board brought this letter to the notice of the Government in their No. 490A, dated the 3rd May 1895, in which they went further than the Director, and said there was no reason why the right to plant or cut trees should not be recorded also, where the parties concerned wished it, as the general law provided for these things.

254. The whole question was summed up in the Government letter No. 181T.R., dated the 21st May 1895, conveying their orders to the Board. It was ruled, as the Director had observed in his first letter, that the general principle to be observed in deciding questions like this was that "our primary business is to confine the record of rights to essentials, and to keep out of it any extraneous matter, which may bear some relation to a tenure, but is not, properly speaking, an incident of the tenure," and the right in question did not stand this test. It was then pointed out that--

"They (the trees) are not like the ordinary crop-produce of the field, the division of which is recorded in the case of small tenants. Such trees may not have been planted by the present occupant of the field, or by the present owner, or by their predecessors in title. They can only fall or be cut once, and so the question of division of the value can only occur once in the lifetime of each tree, and cannot be as settled or notorious as the division of the crop."

It was therefore decided that, in such cases, no record should be made of the right to cut the tree or to receive a share of its value when fallen or cut.

"In the case of fruit trees, however," continues the letter ".....which produce annually, the division of the produce should be recorded. Similarly, in the case of groves where the trees are really the produce of the field, as it produces little or nothing else, and is given up to or rented for that object, the right to cut the trees and share the value of the timber should be entered in the record of rights. In both these cases, the record should be made in the *khatian* by the attestation officer."

254. In short the Government order drew a distinction between isolated trees, standing on borders of fields that give no annual return in produce, and groves, like mango topes, etc., that occupy the whole field, and preclude the raising of any other crop in the soil beneath. These instructions were embodied in the *khanapuri* and attestation rules.

256. I will now give, in brief, the various rights owned by landlords and tenants in trees in the district. They are of a somewhat complicated character, and almost peculiar to Champaran. They fall, generally speaking, into two broad divisions, *gayari* and *anthrop*. The former belong solely to the landlord. They include those standing on malik's waste, or on holdings surrendered to the landlord, or taken possession of by him on the abandonment of the raiyat. The *anthrop*, literally trees whose *antli*, or seed, was 'rop' (i.e., sown) by the raiyat, are those planted by a raiyat in his cash rent-paying holding.

257. The malik generally lets out the fruit-producing *gayari* trees on *batai*, generally *batai kankut*, or on a certain stipulated money rent described as *sair* in the rent-roll. In resettling the abandoned holdings the landlord invariably settles the trees separately on a *batai* or cash rent and keeps them *gayari*.

258. It was in regard to *anthrop* trees, that the question of the right to cut and share the timber arose. It may be said that the custom which limits the raiyat's rights in these trees in the way indicated above is now a well established fact in the villages of the Bettia Raj and of the planters, though the raiyats did not originally submit without a protest, for a crop of cases was filed in the civil courts. The majority of the decisions upheld the landlord's claim. The only instances, therefore, in which we came across cases in which raiyats disputed the custom were in villages belonging to petty maliks, and even there it was noticed that the landlord generally exercised the right without serious opposition.

CASE WORK.

Settlement of fair-rents, Section 104, Bengal Tenancy Act.

259. With population sparse but growing, cultivation backward but advancing, with culturable waste still abundant, standards of measurement uncertain, rent-rates low, and few petty proprietors to concentrate their energies on forcing up small rent-rolls, it was but to be expected that our operations in Champaran would disclose large excess areas in the holdings of the tenants for which no rents were paid; from the first the settlement of fair rents was the branch of the operations that in this district assumed a most prominent position. It formed the subject of endless discussion, and after the main principles had been determined the large number of applications continued to pour in year by year after attestation until the last season, when the area dealt with was inhabited mainly by Tharus, a semi-nomadic tribe ready to change their habitation on the smallest sign of oppression, whom the Bettiah Raj wisely determined to let alone. Under these circumstances it is proper that a review of fair-rent settlements should be given in some detail in the Champaran report.

260. The following statement conveys an idea of the extent of the work we were called upon to do under this head:—

AREA ATTESTED IN YEAR.	Number of raiyats holdings attested, excluding rent-free.	Number of holdings brought under settlement of fair rents.	Percent- age of these hold- ings to holdings attested.	Former rental.	Fair rent settled.	Percent- age of increase.	Percentage of increase to the total rental of the district.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
				Rs.				
1898-99	62,019	19,388	25.2	1,36,115	1,41,809	13.25	...	
1899-00	48,485	11,535	25.4	1,02,648	1,12,761	9.85	...	
1900-01	160,909	52,541	31.6	6,42,397	6,89,377	8.49	...	
1901-02	58,623	14,390	24.6	1,10,160	1,23,248	11.83	...	
1902-03	42,453	6,088	14.5	52,622	60,264	17.34	...	
GRAND TOTAL—	364,689	103,942	28.2	9,33,938	10,26,340	9.89	2.9	

The statement begins with 1893-94, the little work done under this head in 1892-93 being incorporated in the figures for this season.

261. It will be remembered that our operations began in the Bettia subdivision in thana Bettia itself, extended southwards to the Sadar subdivision, where attestation occupied two years, and then returning to Bettia were spread over the northern and north-western portions of that subdivision in the succeeding two years; or in other words, we began where land available for cultivation is abundant and where opportunities for reclaiming new lands are great, we then went down to the tract where the land is more fully occupied and these opportunities are less. Finally, we went northwards to that area where the land available for cultivation is most abundant, but the demand for it is very limited. This itinerary can be traced in the variations in the percentages of increase given in the above statement. We begin with the high percentages of increase 13.2 per cent., which falls in the next season to 9.8 per cent. and in the following season to 8.4 per cent., but when we go north it again shoots up to over 12 per cent. The difference in the last two years is not found in the percentage of increase of rent in the last year which is inappreciable, but in the decrease in the proportion of the holdings brought under the settlement of fair rents. In the annual report of 1893-94 Mr. Colvin wrote:—

“The large tracts of waste land lying ready for any enterprising cultivator in the Bettia subdivision, where the settlement work was principally confined during the past season offer irresistible inducements to encroachment, and the great discrepancy between the actual areas of holdings as found by the survey and the areas as found by previous measurement was as a general rule more than could be accounted for by any difference either in the standard or in the system of measurement. I anticipate that when the survey and settlement operations are extended to the south of the district where there is less uncultivated land and where the *laggi* is a less variable measure and where the conditions approach more nearly to those of the Muzaffarpur district, it will be found that the discrepancy between the present and previous measurements will be much less, and that consequently the increase in rents will diminish. On the other hand, to the north of the districts, where the opposite conditions obtain, the increase may be somewhat higher.”

The reason why in the northern area this forecast was not verified was, as I have said, the weak position of the landlords owing to an absence of demand for lands.

262. Referring in more detail to the percentage of holdings brought under settlement of fair rents to holdings attested, we find variations very similar to those alluded to above. The fair rent operations affected 28 per cent. of the total number of holdings in the district and have increased the district rent-roll by 3.9 per cent. But in explanation of these figures a more detailed reference to the attitude of the Bettia Raj is required. Unlike Muzaffarpur, which is mainly held by petty proprietors who force up rents by their own personal efforts without the assistance of the Administration, Champaran is largely owned by one land-owner, who needs therefore to base any wholesale alterations of his rent-roll that he may contemplate on definite and fixed principles.

The attitude of the Bettia Raj. is required. Unlike Muzaffarpur, which is mainly held by petty proprietors who force up rents by their own personal efforts without the assistance of the Administration, Champaran is largely owned by one land-owner, who needs therefore to base any wholesale alterations of his rent-roll that he may contemplate on definite and fixed principles.

263. The Manager of the Bettia Raj recognised that his tenants had included large areas of land in their holdings without assessment, and the first decision he arrived at was to take the fullest possible advantage of the settlement operations for the detection and assessment of their lands. The Raj therefore has all through taken the keenest and most active interest in this portion of our work, and the planters apart from their personal inclination have as *thikadars* of the Raj been compelled under instruction to follow suit. But although the rents of nearly quarter of the holdings in the district have been increased, the average rent rates still rule very low, and personally I have found Mr. Lewis, the present Manager of the Raj, and nearly all the indigo-planters, while anxious of course to get that increase of rent to which they were entitled, invariably ready to grant concessions where the basis of comparison of past and present area was not very sure or in those special cases where the increase assessable would seem to work harshly. But I have inherited the fruits of Mr. Colvin's labour. Before working and legal principles were defined demands were less moderate. To Mr. Colvin the credit is mainly due that rents while they have been increased in a large scale

in this district have not to the best of my belief been excessively increased, that is to say, increased beyond what the raiyats in fairness ought to and easily can pay.

264. Where landlords are powerful and tenants ignorant and weak, where, too, circumstances were such that the demand for increased or enhanced rent if contested was al-

most incapable of legal proof, it necessarily followed that the fair-rent cases were decided mainly on compromise, and the chief point of difference between Mr. Colvin and Mr. Gibbon, who was at that time Manager of the Bettia Raj, concerned the power the Revenue Officer could legitimately exercise to scrutinise, modify and reject such compromises.

265. The question of compromises came up for discussion before His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of his visit to Bettia in April 1893, and it was then decided that there was no objection to landlords coming to terms with their tenants in regard to additional rent for excess area, if the terms were such as the Settlement Officer could endorse. On the strength of this decision the Manager at the Bettia Raj proceeded to put in petitions against the whole body of his tenants, and these were promptly followed in a majority of cases by an *ikrarnamas* or agreements between the parties, the terms in every case being the same, viz., "that the tenant should be allowed a deduction of 10 per cent. (2 *kathas* per *bigha*) on the area found by the survey to be comprised in his holding, and that they should pay rent at the existing rate per *bigha* on the balance." Mr. Colvin on the unvarying uniformity of these conditions wrote in his Annual Report of 1892-93 :—

"The past history and circumstances of every village may be absolutely diverse, and it is impossible to suppose that one and the same agreement will suit every different (set) of facts; much must depend on the previous conditions of the village and whether rents had already been generally enhanced.

"In the course of enquiry into individual cases it became necessary to reject many of the agreements filed before me. The cases were then dealt with and disposed of in the ordinary way, time being given for the production of the evidence required by law."

266. Thus the power of a Revenue officer to test, and if necessary to reject, compromises was asserted from the first, and the nature of the test of excess area must depend in Mr. Colvin's opinion on the following considerations :—

The power of Revenue officers to reject compromises asserted.

(a) The present measurements are made by a chain on an exact system in acres, and acres are converted to *bighas* of so many *laggi*, the *laggi* being a certain number of *kaths* and the *kath* being taken at exactly 18 inches. But the previous measurements, if any, specially those made by a native agency, have been made on a loose system by the *laggi*, and....."the *kath* itself has been a measure of varying length, and that length has been generally more than 18 inches. This is one cause why the *bigha*, as calculated by us, has been greater than the *bigha* in the zamindari papers.

(b) In many cases there have been no measurements within the memory of man. In these cases the entries of areas in landlords' papers must have been largely guess work.

(c) In some cases tenants have been given permission to take up waste land indefinitely on condition that they pay an enhanced rent.

(d) There are, no doubt, cases in which collusion between the *patwari* and the tenant has contributed to the result."

But the difficulty was felt in the practical application of these principles.

267. Sir Charles Elliott inspected the Bihar operations and wrote in his note with reference to fair-rent case-work in Champaran :—

"I have desired the Settlement Officer to arrange that he should try each of these suits in the village concerned, and not at Bettia: at any rate during the camping season. There should then be no process fees and no service of notices. The Court would procure the attendance of the parties in their own village, and no technical difficulties need arise."

Sir Charles Elliott's opinion on compromises.

268. On the subject of compromises he said:—

"When the raiyats agreed to a compromise and to pay a moderate enhancement, Mr. Colvin insisted on their admitting that they did occupy an increased area, and on their refusal he threw out the compromise. This seems to me to have been unnecessary. The compromise should be clear in all details and should show the nominal area, the survey area, the excess, the allowance made to cover imperfection in the old measurement, the balance of excess area, and the amount of increase which the raiyat agrees to pay in his rent on account of that balance. If the tenant clearly understands and agrees to pay this amount, I can see no reason why a decree should not be recorded against him and the rent there settled entered in the khatian."

269. These instructions, however, left the point untouched what a Settlement Officer should do with compromises that were unintelligible and based on wrong principles, and as they were growing numerous and their rejection wholesale was obviously inexpedient, Mr. Colvin

Mr. Colvin's procedure. drew up a set of instructions for his case officers, just after the Lieutenant-Governor's visit, to the effect that the case officer, before taking up the case at a particular village, should proceed to the village, hold a local enquiry about the history of rents, previous enhancements, if any, and also measurements. He was there to determine the length of the prevailing *laggi*, in which, it was expected, he would derive much assistance from the village note recorded by the attestation officer. He should then draw up a report, proposing the deduction or allowance, as it is more generally called, that would be fair, and on this being approved by the Settlement Officer the parties were to be asked to file *sulahnamas* on those lines. If they did, the case ended there, but if they did not, the latter portion of section 52(2) should be applied, or in other words, the Assistant Settlement Officer should fix rents that he considered fair.

270. Mr. Colvin hoped to work this procedure, which he recognised as emanating more from a sense of equity than from the provisions of the law, with the co-operation of the Manager of the Bettia Raj, but in this he was disappointed. Mr. Gibbon's uncompromising attitude is best expressed by an extract from a demi-official letter he wrote to the case officer at Bettia.

"As a duly constituted Court I will bow to your decision, but as a medium at coming to an amicable settlement with our tenants, I beg you will leave us in peace."

Mr. Colvin in reply wrote:—

"The only object was to get these cases fairly settled out of Court and to save landlord and tenants from litigation."

He reminded Mr. Gibbon that he had made the attempt after full discussion with him and with his full consent, and had he known it would be challenged legally and officially, his procedure would have been different. He concluded thus:—

"I was willing to run the risk of being called illegal and other such names, if I could facilitate the settlement of those cases out of court by fair compromise."

271. The system had consequently to be abandoned. The Lieutenant-Governor had expressed a desire during his visit to Bettia that the Settlement Officer should himself try some of those cases and give typical decisions which would serve as a guide for his subordinates. Mr. Colvin accordingly tried many cases, one of which, relating to the village Laukaria Sani, he treated and decided as a test-case. The judgment is dated 25th August 1894, and was forwarded to the Director as recording in full the views of Mr. Colvin on the whole question of compromises, powers of a Revenue officer to reject them, and on the points to be kept in view in disposing of a claim on the ground of excess area under section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. This decision deserves to be referred to in some detail.

272. The case was instituted by the Bairia Factory against the tenants of mauza Laukaria Sani in tappa Khadda, most of whom filed *sulahnamas* agreeing to pay for excess area at their existing rates less a deduction at 2 kathas per bigha on, not the new survey area, but the old nominal *jamabandi* area. The remaining tenants did not put in an appearance.

The Laukaria Sani test-case.
Mr. Colvin's judgment.

273. Mr. Colvin rejected the compromise as unfair, and without recording any further evidence proceeded to fix, and decree rents, calculated on an allowance at $2\frac{1}{2}$ kathas on the new area, subject to the maximum limit of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. He pointed out that the provisions of sections 52(3) and 38 of the Bengal Tenancy Act exempted these compromises from the provisions laid down in section 375 of the Civil Procedure Code. There were, he said, obvious risks in indiscriminate acceptance of compromises. Thus the existing rent which was found to be the basis of settlement might have been incorrectly recorded and attested, then the area of the holding as found by the cadastral survey might have been wrongly extracted; and finally there was a third and the greatest danger, "the unscrupulous landlords in this construction of the law," he wrote, "may compel their tenants to agree to a settlement of rents which may approach rack-rents." He went on to observe:—

"The tenants in many parts of Champaran were most submissive and would go great lengths rather than enter into any litigation, indeed anything in the nature of a dispute with the landlords. The only point at which such a landlord in such a village need anticipate a limit on the demand for increased rent is the point at which the tenant determines that it will no longer be worth his while to retain the holding in the village."

On the grounds, therefore, both of justice and expediency he showed that the scrutiny of and interference with the compromises was fully called for.

274. He then proceeded to lay down four broad principles which were to be applied to each case; firstly, to ascertain what may fairly be regarded as the previous standard of measurement; secondly, to consider how the difference in standard affects the comparison of measurements; thirdly, to consider whether any other facts affect the case under consideration; and fourthly, to apply the previous consideration and to determine what is the fair and equitable rent so deduced and to compare it with that shown in the compromise.

275. Now the determination of the standard of measurement was a pure question of evidence, but he had recorded none in the case; he relied solely on the village notes in which the standards of measurement are recorded by the attestation officers. This is how he attempted to justify this procedure:—

"This work was done by Revenue officers in whose presence the actual *laggi* of the village was measured. The measuring was done, *coram populo* in the presence of all parties who chose to attend when all the village was collected together for the attestation of the record. It was open to any party to say that the *laggi* produced was not the real village *laggi*, but not a single case of objection was reported to me."

He next referred to a statement showing the lengths of *laggi* in 150 villages of tappas, Khadda and Latjiwa recorded in that way, which showed the average length in that area to be 13 feet 7 inches, and as the *laggi* in the village note of Paukaria Sani was put down to be 13 feet 3 inches, he concluded that he was on safe ground in accepting this standard.

276. In reply to the argument that he could not travel beyond the records of the particular case in coming to a conclusion, he wrote:—

"The record out of which this case arises, and without which it could not have arisen, is the record of right now being prepared under notification No. 420 L.R., published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 13th December 1892, ordering the preparation of the record of rights in the "local area" comprising tappas Khadda and Patjiwa. Mauza Paukaria Sani lies in the Patjiwa tappa, and all the facts which came to light in the preparation of the record of right of those two tappas may therefore be relevant in the present case."

But he did not notice that the record of rights which he had till then prepared was only a draft, and had therefore very little evidential value, and even supposing that it carried some legal weight, that the note of the *laggi* made at the time of attestation was no portion of that record.

277. Having determined the standard of measurement in the actual use, he gave an allowance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ kathas to assimilate it with the survey standard of measure and 1 katha on account of the greater accuracy of the present mode of measurement in including *ails*, etc. He thus gave a total allowance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ kathas per bigha on the new area and not the old area, because, as he said, the allowance was given to reduce the new area to the denomination of the old area, so as to ensure a proper comparison.

278. In respect of a maximum of $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase he argued that he could not order progressive rents under the law under section 52, whilst a sudden rise by more than $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. fell most heavily on the defendant concerned. On the ground of equity, then, he had no option but to fix an equitable maximum.

279. The case was remanded on the strength of the High Court ruling in the case *Maharani of Bettiah versus Sobha Gond* and others which I will describe later. This was inevitable, as Mr. Colvin had based his decision in matters that were not in evidence.

280. His judgment is interesting as incidentally illustrating the superiority of executive over judicial methods in dealing with the settlement of fair rents, but I lay stress on it as emphasising how Mr. Colvin worked to keep demands for increased rents within moderate and equitable limits.

His troubles were considerably aggravated by the unreasonable attitude which Mr. Gibbon, the Manager of the Bettia Raj, at times took up. As I have referred to this, it is but right that I should explain in contrast how when settling fair rents in 1896-97 in the Gandak diara, where, owing partly to fluvial action, but mostly to the dishonesty of the village officials, the Raj rent-rolls were in hopeless disorder. Mr. Lewis, his successor, gave his most cordial co-operation in settling rents that were fair and equitable. He was willing that the amount of enhancement should be limited to $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and fully concurred in the case officer of his own motion reducing the rents of holdings that had suffered from diluvion.

281. In the recess of 1894-95, when the arrangement for the disposal of the fair-rent cases in the area first attested came up for consideration, Mr. Lyon, who was then Settlement Officer of Champaran as well as of Muzaffarpur, made an attempt at the very beginning, and with a fair amount of success to impress our general principles on the important landlords with whom we would come into contact, and the chief of whom were the Pipra, Motihari, and Turkaulia concerns. Once these principles were thoroughly grasped, intelligible and fair compromises began to pour in throughout the villages of the last two concerns.

282. The Turkaulia concern had recently measured its villages. There was thus no dispute about the *laggi*, in measuring which it had adopted throughout a *hath* of $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The concern gave an allowance of 2 kathas per bigha as a set-off against the greater accuracy of the present scientific measurement, and all the tenants were satisfied.

283. The Pipra concern, however, was not so fortunate, but before passing on from compromise to contested claims for increased rent on excess area, this will be a convenient place to describe the circumstances that led up to the standard ruling on the subject of compromises passed by the High Court, in the case *Maharani of Bettia versus Sobha Gond* and others (I. L. R. Cal.). On the 3rd June 1893, the Raj filed an application for the settlement of increased rents against certain tenants of Barharwa, only three of whom were actually named, and on the very same date a compromise was filed on behalf of the raiyats agreeing to the increase, on receiving an allowance of 2 kathas per bigha.

283. Babu Raj Kishore Narain, Assistant Settlement Officer, before whom the case came, recorded an order that the tenants had appeared and agreed to the rents, and that they were to be calculated accordingly. The case eventually came to the file of Babu Promotho Nath Dutt, before whom another petition was filed on 1st December 1893, rehearsing what had happened on 4th June 1893, and praying that the rents of the 40 tenants might be settled according to the decree of that date, though there was no decree at all, and that the remaining ten defendants be summoned. Babu Promotho Nath Dutt delivered judgment on 12th December 1893. He dismissed the case against the first 40 defendants on the following grounds:—

“This petition” (referring to the petition filed on 1st December 1893) certainly was not sufficient to dispose of this case.

“The areas in the *jumbandi* and the existing rates of rent did not appear in the petition of compromise, and it was necessary to determine them

before the passing of the final decision. On these points the parties might be at variance, and it was necessary to hear the defendants before the disposal of the suit as against them. The necessary process fees for issue of summonses on the first set of defendants have not been deposited, and I therefore dismiss the suit against them under section 97, Civil Procedure Code."

The other defendants contested the suit, and the Assistant Settlement Officer examined the evidence in the light of the Gouri Patra ruling, and finding it insufficient, dismissed the case against them too. The Special Judge confirmed the decision, and the High Court was moved to upset it.

285. Mr. Colvin at once wrote to the Director to say that he would not be sorry if the case was returned for retrial on its merits, but he was anxious lest the real question at issue in this case, viz., whether a Settlement Officer is bound to accept a compromise between landlord and tenant, should be obscured in the side issue concerning process-fees. He feared that if the High Court restored the original order of Babu Raj Kishore Narain Sinha *re* "calculating rents in terms of the compromise," it would be a most unfortunate precedent for the district, which ought, if possible, to be guarded against.

286. A long correspondence ensued, which led to the Legal Remembrancer being asked to give an opinion on certain questions arising out of Mr. Colvin's Laukaria Sani test-case, to which I have already referred. The gist

The Legal Remembrancer's opinion on compromises.

of the Legal Remembrancer's opinion was that a Revenue officer could not make general enquiries as to the general fairness of a compromise, "except to form the basis of his enquiries from the parties in order to test their knowledge, consent, etc., as to what they were contracting to do;" that he could not, of his own motion, decree lower rents than those named; that he could not reduce or enhance compromised rents so as to fix rents which "his general and special knowledge of the circumstances of the particular case (as distinguished from evidence recorded in the case) led him to believe to be fair and that he could not reject a compromise which is unfair:—

"The test is, not what the Revenue Officer considers fair, as distinguished from what the parties consider fair. A compromise or contract, being enforceable by law, must be recognised by a Revenue officer, if it fulfil all the conditions of a contract. If it do not, then he will refuse to recognise it, as a civil court would refuse to enforce it; and he would then proceed to settle the fair rent on evidence recorded in the case, starting with the presumption that the existing rent is fair.

287. As to the inability of a Revenue officer to modify compromises on the basis of his own general and special knowledge of the particular circumstances of the case,

Mr. Lyon's protest against this opinion.

Mr. Lyon, on being consulted, agreed with the Legal Remembrancer, but emphatically protested against the rest of his opinion. He said:—

"I do not understand the second clause of the Legal Remembrancer's answer to the first question. If he really means what he says, as to admitting any compromise which would be advisable as a contract under the Contract Act, I do not see what general enquiries in the local area can have to do with the question."

He continued:—

"It seems to me that the opinion of the Legal Remembrancer is distinctly opposed to the provisions of section 29 and section 178 of the Act. If it was necessary to bar all enhancements exceeding 2 annas in the rupee, when made by contract, surely this must extend to compromises made under the circumstances described to the Legal Remembrancer, and it cannot be held to be sufficient that the riyat apparently agrees freely to a greater enhancement. And if it was necessary to lay down the stringent provisions of section 178 to bar contract nullifying the clauses concerning status, surely it is twice as necessary to prevent riyats decreeing rack-rents against themselves.

"I know many bad landlords in Bihar who could and would take immediate advantage of any such decision as that of the Legal Remembrancer to raise their rents in every direction, and we should be unable to discover any reason for rejecting the compromises as not being legal contracts. It seems to me that section 35 clearly compels the Revenue Officer to come to a decision in all cases in which he settles rents as to the fairness and equity of the rents he decrees. The Legal Remembrancer's remarks as to rents which the parties consider fair are wholly beside the mark. No one supposes that the parties discuss these questions on even terms, and deliberately decide on fair rents, at least in Bihar, and if we could take the line taken by the Legal Remembrancer, sections 29 and 178 would certainly have had no justification. I think that we cannot act on compromises, unless we accept them as filed, or modify them with the consent of the parties, but I think we

should, by legislation if necessary, secure to the Revenue officer the right of rejecting all compromises, on the subject of rents which do not appear to him to be fair and equitable. If the landlord is injured, he can prove his right to an enhanced rent in open court and can secure it.

"As regards the particular case before the High Court, I share Mr. Colvin's fear lest an order may be passed, on insufficient argument, which might be held to imply that Revenue officers are incompetent to reject compromises. There can be little doubt that Babu Raj Kishore Narain's order to calculate the rents did not imply an order accepting the compromise as final; and a reversion to that order as final might well be held to bar any interference with future compromises. But unless Government can be represented, it is difficult to get the case argued. The raiyats are not sufficiently interested, as the worst that can happen to them is a decree for the rents, to which they freely agreed before Babu Raj Kishore Narain; and it would be straining their case to put up their pleader to argue our point for us. However, if it is thought possible that we may prevent any restriction of our power to reject unfair compromises by proper representation in this case, I am strongly of opinion that we should be represented."

288. Mr. Macpherson summed up the situation in his letter (No. 246T.S., dated 31st May 1895) to the Board. He also deprecated the views taken by the Legal Remembrancer, but was not prepared, in face of it, to recommend that the Government should enter appearance in the High Court in the Burharwa case. He, however, added that if the Legal Remembrancer's views on this subject should turn out to be the view adopted by the Court, a case for legislation would arise, on the ground that the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act in the matter of settlement of rents were inappropriate and inadequate in the case of such operations as were being conducted in North Bihar.

289. The result of the High Court's decision in the case was therefore awaited by everybody with anxiety and deep concern. As expected, the Advocate-General who argued the appeal did urge "that the only point for decision by the Settlement Officer was whether the tenants had voluntarily agreed to the terms embodied in the petition, and that enquiries should have been directed to that issue." This was the view of the Legal Remembrancer, but the High Court was not prepared to go to this length. At the same time, they regarded the manner in which the compromises had been disposed of as improper, and observed:—

"It is the duty of the Settlement Officer to enquire from each of the tenants, in turn, first whether he had agreed to the petition (i.e., of compromises) purporting to come from him. If he denied this, and as the plaintiff offered no evidence, there would be an end of the case, as against that tenant. But if the tenant admitted having made the particular petition, the Settlement Officer should then ascertain what he understood that he had consented to. Some of the petitions, at least, are vague in regard to the foundation upon which, by comparison with the new measurement by the Collector, the excess area is to be determined. This should form the subject of a careful enquiry, and each of the tenants should be asked what he understood and admitted to be the representation of the area of his previous holding.

Upon this data, the Settlement Officer will be in a position to determine, on the said measurement, whether such tenant is liable to additional rent on excess lands within the terms of the petition."

290. The last paragraph makes it clear that the Revenue Officer should determine, on the data furnished by the compromise, after it is admitted by the tenants, whether he is liable to additional rent on excess lands within the terms of the petition. It naturally follows from this that, if the data be unintelligible or insufficient, or lead to anomalous results, the Revenue Officer is perfectly justified in throwing out the compromise and proceeding to call for and record evidence to decide the case on its merits.

291. Our procedure, as based on this ruling, was thus set forth on the annual report for 1896-97:—

Present procedure in cases compromised.

"We insist on a liberal allowance being given to cover (a) the difference between the local standard of measure and the bigha into which areas have been converted by the present survey; and (b) the greater accuracy of the present survey as compared with the previous measurements; and (c) we insist that this allowance should be calculated on an intelligible basis which will be fair for all the raiyats concerned."

292. Passing on from cases compromised to cases contested, I will revert to those instituted by the Pipra factory. There as were serious differences in the length of the laggi claimed by it and by its raiyats, and these

Contested cases. The size of the laggi. The Pipra cases.

differences were accentuated by the demand in the landlord's application for the enhancement of rates on the grounds of "prevailing rate" and "rise in prices" as embodied in section 30 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The Turkaulia concern wisely omitted these grounds altogether, and the Raj and the Motihari concern invariably withdrew them when the raiyats came to terms in regard to excess area. Pipra, however, insisted on bringing them to an issue, and in consequence all its cases, with one or two exceptions, were bitterly contested.

293. As a result of this contest it was generally found that the *laggi* was longer than the factory claimed, and that it was not regulated by the standard cubit but by the forearm of some villager, generally the longest in the village, and invariably longer than 18 inches—a fact often admitted by the plaintiff's own witnesses, and also corroborated by testing the old measurement in a limited number of fields, of which they produced *khassas*. All the findings were upheld on appeal. Indeed, a *laggi* of 18 inch *haths* was, up to the time of our advent in the district, practically unknown. Of this, the measurement of the whole Turkaulia *dihat*, with a *laggi* of 18½ inches *hath*, is a sufficient illustration. When this concern came to measure its lands, it found a *hath* varying in nearly every village. It wished to introduce an uniform *hath*, and that was only possible by adopting the lowest *hath* generally prevalent, which was 18½ inches. The cases in which a *hath* of more than 18 inches is actually recognised could be multiplied indefinitely, emphasising the untenability of the position which the Bettia Raj (of whose land hardly any previous measurements exist) has from time to time attempted to take up; namely, that it does not recognise a *hath* exceeding 18 inches.

294. In applications for increased rent on excess area that were contested, the guiding principles enunciated by the High Court ruling in what is known as the Gouri Patra case have been steadfastly maintained, and evidence of previous measurement or specific encroachment was required. The Bettia Raj had very seldom measured its villages; consequently, finding itself at a very great disadvantage, it revived the whole issue in a fair-rent case heard in 1895-96. The Raj claimed that whenever lands were settled with new tenants they were measured by the landlord, and that the *jamabandis* were written up in accordance with the results of this measurement. It was therefore contended that the Assistant Settlement Officer should find that the custom of measurement, on resettling of the holdings, was proved for Raj villages, and that he should accept the *jamabandi* areas as reliable on this account.

Over 50 witnesses including the Manager of the Raj, several indigo planters, and other big *thikadars*, were examined on this point. Their evidence was most interesting, as showing the great diversity which exists among different landlords and in different parts of the district in the procedure adopted when settling land with new raiyats. In the first place, it was proved that, prior to the Raj coming under European management, measurements hardly ever took place. Next it was shown that even at the present day it is not the usual practice of landlords to measure holdings when they are transferred from one raiyat to another, either by succession, sale, or resettlement. To quote the words of the Manager of the Bettia Raj:—"The reason why no measurement is made is that the new tenant accepts the entire *jama* of the old tenant, irrespective of what the land may be in area." The only case in which measurement generally takes place is when a part of a holding is given up by an old tenant and settled with a new one. The evidence produced therefore showed that there was no such general custom of measurement or settlement of holdings as to prove the reliability of the areas shown in the *jamabandis*, and the Raj claim to have the custom accepted as proved was rejected. The High Court ruling therefore could not be evaded, and it has all along operated as a wholesome influence in moderating the demands of landlords, they clearly recognising that their best interests are served by prevailing on their tenants to compromise.

The amendment to the law, introduced by Act III of 1898, has merely served to legalise the existing practice of assessing excess at the average rate of the lump-rental, where lump-rentals are paid.

295. In connection with the Pipra cases referred to above, the question of "prevailing rate" sprang into prominence. I need not describe the various definitions of this term that have from time to time been framed. They all at least imply the existence of different rates for different classes of land, but these do not exist in Champaran. As a rule there is no fixed rate for each class of land, the rate being fixed on the whole holding irrespective of the proportion of good or bad lands which it may contain. Thus the landlord has not only to prove the similarity of specific plots but the general similarity of holdings, a much more complicated undertaking. There is only one High Court ruling bearing on the subject, viz., *Sital Mandal versus Prassana Mayi Débya* and others, and it lays down definitely that an average rate is not a prevailing rate.

296. The procedure in Champaran was mainly regulated in accordance with an opinion expressed by Sir Griffith Evans, when Advocate-General in the case of Nazir Ahmad and others, circulated with Director's memorandum dated 13th January 1896. He says:—

"I adhere to the views expressed by me in the debate. The case in 21 Calo. 986, makes it doubtful whether the High Court will adopt that view, but it does not decide the question, as that was a special appeal, on the ground that the Judge had taken an average. This case, however, is different from those contemplated by me. Here there is not, and does not appear ever to have been, any rate per bigha for various classes of lands, but only a letting of estimated areas at a lump sum, including homestead and all sorts of lands.

"In such a village as this I do not think it could be said that there was any rate per bigha for the letting of any class of land.

"I do not think there is any prevailing rate in such villages within the meaning of the old or the present law."

As a result of this opinion all claims for enhancement of rents in Champaran based on prevailing rates had when contested to be dismissed.

297. The Amendment Act of 1898, while to a large extent giving effect to Sir Griffith Evans' views, has not strengthened the position of the landlords of Champaran, because its application presupposes the existence of different rates for different classes of land.

298. The landlords fared no better in their attempt to prove a rise in prices. In the Annual Report for 1894-95, the following remarks of Mr. Kerr were quoted:—

"The landlords have signally failed to establish their claims, mainly owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence produced by them. This has consisted solely of statistics compiled from the official *Gazette*, and of vague oral statements. No local grain-dealers' account books have been produced in any case, though these would have furnished the most satisfactory evidence. This is generally attributed to the reluctance of the mahajans to produce their accounts in Court."

He might have added that the official figures, published under Act VIII of 1885, did not go far enough back for the purposes of comparison, while those previously published had not had their accuracy adequately tested, which, as the Rent Commissioner observed, seriously impaired their evidential value.

299. The Amendment Act, by admitting a presumption in favour of official price-lists published prior to 1885, has rendered this provision for enhancing rents more workable.

300. No claims for enhancement under section 30, Bengal Tenancy Act, based on landlords' improvement or "fluvial action" were brought forward. While, however, the provisions of section 30 proved inoperative, the landlords no doubt utilised them as an inducement to their more ignorant raiyats to come to a compromise in claims for increased rent on excess area. This, in fact, was the only use to which landlords succeeded in putting section 30.

301. I will now mention a few matters of interest connected with the settlement of fair rents in this district.

Foremost were the cases of the Madhuban Babu, arising out of the rent disputes in the Madhuban Babu's estates in tappa Duho Suho, thana Adapur. The landlord claimed a rent-rate of between 8 and 9 rupees a bigha, while the raiyats asserted it to be between 3 and 6 rupees. Consequently the first issue to be framed in each fair-rent case was, "what is the existing rent?" In the great majority of the cases,

'Prevailing rate' cases. Procedure.

No cases under section 30, Bengal Tenancy Act, or based on 'fluvial action.'

Some cases considered.

this issue was decided in the favour of the raiyats, and the landlord then withdrew the fair-rent cases, expressing his intention of again raising the matter under section 106, an intention which he fully carried out. When the work under that section comes under review, I will revert to the further development of this quarrel.

302. The only other place where the raiyats united to assert what they believed to be their rights, was in tappa Bahas, also in thana Adapur. Here, owing to the extreme richness of the soil, the cultivators are better off and more independent than anywhere else in Champaran, and therefore more prone to litigation. Moreover, they had been on bad terms with the Murla factory for some time, and their disagreements had already come to the surface during attestation. When therefore the Manager of the factory sued for increased rents, the raiyats in a body denied that they held any excess, and as in most cases there was no evidence of previous measurement, the cases were for the most part dismissed.

303. Mr. Colvin had observed, as I have quoted above, in the very first year of the operations, that one of the causes why our survey showed large excesses as compared with the landlords' *jamabandi*, was the collusion of the patwari with the raiyat, and a very striking illustration of this was furnished by some of the fair-rent cases brought by the Tetaria factory in thana Madhuban. There the raiyats filed compromises, agreeing to pay for the excess at their existing rates, less deduction of one katha per bigha of the new area. There was a previous measurement which had been carried out by a Batwara Deputy Collector, and the *jamabandis* were based on it. There was no *laggi* dispute, but still the increase turned out to be enormous, over 50 per cent. in some of the holdings. Mr. Kerr thoroughly went into the matter, and he discovered that in one village a raiyat holding 4 bighas and 15 kathas was not down in the *jamabandi* at all, "although," to quote Mr. Kerr's own words, "he admitted that he had been paying rent to the patwari for over 12 years, and showed receipts granted by the patwari." After pushing the enquiries further, it was found that the raiyats had probably been paying for much of the excess land to the patwari, though this had not reached the landlord, and the increase was therefore more nominal than real. Tetaria factory is indebted to the survey and settlement operations for the discovery of this long continued fraud.

304. Many zamindars have complained of a practical difficulty which they experience in writing up their *jamabandis* after the settlement of fair rents on the excess area by the Settlement Department. Thus:—

Suppose a raiyat's *jamabandi* area is 10 bighas, and his rent at the rate of Rs. 3 a bigha, is Rs. 30. The survey shows his holding to be 15 bighas, and after giving an allowance of, say, 2 kathas per bigha, we fix a fair rent for 13½ bighas in all, at the rate of Rs. 3, i.e., Rs. 40-8. There are two difficulties that arise in consequence. The landlord dare not enter a lower rate in his *jamabandi*, and so he is compelled to provide extra columns to show the area unassessed. Again, in presenting a plaint before the Civil Court for arrears of rent, the area, rate and rent of a holding are recorded. In this case the area is 15 bighas, the rate is Rs. 3 a bigha, but the rent is not Rs. 45 but Rs. 40-8.

Although no legal necessity exists for entering the rent-rate in a plaint, it has been customary in this district to do so, and the existing practices of Civil Courts die hard.

305. The history of the orders relating to Court-fees leviable on applications for the settlement of fair rents, deserves some notice. The original orders were to levy a single fee of 8 annas for one village, irrespective of the number of defendants joined. The natural result was that tenants were sued for the most trifling increase of area. The Government of India, at length, by their Notification No. 5086R., dated 11th October 1894 (published in Part A of the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 17th October 1894) directed that a fee of 8 annas was to be levied on account of each defendant joined in an application. Some uncertainty again cropped up owing to the High Court's decision in the case of *Upadhyas Thakur versus Prasada Sinha* (reported, page 723, Volume XXIII, I. L. R., Calcutta) that an 8-anna fee was sufficient for memoranda of appeal

in fair-rent cases. The inference that was at once drawn by the landlords was that the same rule would apply to original petitions as well. The Bettia Raj was particularly insistent in pressing this view. One of the points urged was, that the Raj, understanding that Upadhyā Thakur's ruling was applicable to the proceedings in the original Court, had sued tenants that could only be sued at a loss, if a Court-fee of 8 annas was demanded on account of each. My reply was that if there was any tenant whose excess was so small that it was not worthwhile to pay a Court-fee of 8 annas to get it assessed, then obviously that was a tenant who ought not to be sued at all. As for the question generally it was pointed out that, under rule 25, Chapter VI, Bengal Tenancy Act Rules of 1885, it was only with the consent of the Revenue officer that the landlord could join the tenants of the same village in one suit and thus, the Revenue Officer, by withdrawing his consent, had the power to realise a separate fee for each tenant. That the landlords were permitted to put in applications, joining several tenants as defendants, was a matter of pure concession. Hence the High Court could have had no intention of finding that the original Court had only power to demand a fee of 8 annas for each defendant, where the plaintiff was given permission to join several in a single petition.

306. The settlement of fair rents was completed in this district before the Bengal Tenancy Act was amended by Act III of 1898. Thus, applications under section 104 were received in attestation camps, and forwarded to head-quarters, whence they were distributed to case officers, to each of whom an area was assigned, through which he moved from centre to centre, fixed for the convenience of his work. Sir Charles Elliott's order that fair-rent cases should be taken up in the village concerned, no process-fees demanded and no notices issued, proved of course to be impracticable; but the case officer's programmes were so arranged as to keep them as near as possible to the villages with which they ought to be dealing at the time.

307. The recess rules show how a case officer's camp was constituted, but a word is necessary here about the form of the fair-rent schedule, and the efforts made to eliminate mathematical and clerical errors in dealing with assessment of rents. The schedule is in the following form:—

Jamabandi or fair-rent schedule of village

Serial number.	Khata number.	Name of raiyat.	Jamabandi area.	Survey area.	Area to be added or deducted on account of the difference in the length of the standard of the measurement.	Total.	Difference in columns 6—7.	Allowance at <i>rahbas</i> per <i>bigha</i> on area shown in column 7.	Remainder upon which rent is to be assessed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Rate of rent per <i>bigha</i> .	Excess rent.	Former rent.	Total.	Enhancement under section 84, if any.	Total.	Rent compromised.	Rent settled.	REMARKS.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

This is prepared by a staff of special muharrirs from the Assistant Settlement Officers' judgments, and from the khatians of the village sent from head-quarters into camp. The bench clerk then checks all the entries, and the case officer himself fills up the column for fair-rent, after satisfying himself as to the accuracy and fairness of the rents. In compromised cases, every discrepancy between the compromise and the schedule is gone into, and if the former is wrong, it is corrected after the issue of due notice. In contested cases also, before passing judgment, the case officer gets a draft schedule prepared, and if in any case he finds the resultant rent too high, or otherwise unfair, he goes into the circumstances of that holding again, and makes a special provision for it in the judgment. The parties are allowed copies of these schedules in full. The rents decreed are next entered in the khatians affected by correction muharrirs, and these entries are again

checked by the case officer's bench clerk, before being initialled by the Assistant Settlement Officer. They are again checked at head-quarters. Thus every possible precaution is taken to make the schedules as accurate as possible, and every facility is given to the parties to detect errors.

308. The appeals that have contributed to the collection of the principles on which fair rents are settled in North Bihar have been referred to. Little further reference need be made to this subject, to which former Special Judges, in the presence of their ordinary duties, were not able to give the attention it deserved. The present state of the appeal file is as follows :—

NUMBER OF APPEALS—		DECIDED.				
Instituted.	Pending.	Upheld.	Modified.	Upset.	Remanded.	Otherwise disposed of.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
180	70	41	15	8	5	41

The number of cases still pending is very large; and if any of them are sent back for retrial after the settlement establishment is broken up, the inconvenience caused will be great. I find this question was raised in the earliest years of our operations by a circular letter from the Director, No. 7T.A., dated 15th March 1893, in reply to which Mr. Lyon suggested that, in awarding costs in the case, the Court may be asked to levy the costs for the reinquiry from the party by whose fault it was rendered necessary. But the lower Court is often as much at fault as the parties themselves. Mr. Caspersz, the present Special Judge, has not up to this time passed any appellate decisions of importance in cases drawn from this district. The chief of those that emanated from his predecessor were reviewed in my Annual Report for 1896-97, but as their interest was transitory, I abstain from further reference to them in this report.

309. The Special Judge has in every case upheld the power which we claim to scrutinize 'compromises.' When it is said that nearly one quarter of the tenants in this district had their rents enhanced as a consequence of these operations, there may be those who would conclude that the survey and settlement, which were undertaken to afford protection to the tenantry, have been turned against them to their harm. I have described at some length the difficulties that faced the Settlement Officer when he was called on to enforce the provisions for the settlement of fair rents in the earlier stages of the work; so that the way in which Mr. Colvin strove, in order that this work, which must necessarily be heavy, might be conducted on principles equitable and just alike to the weak as to the strong, may be fully recognised and appreciated. And the Settlement Department has since then consistently laboured, by the exercise of the closest scrutiny, to modify rents which could not be accepted as fair. That the increase of rentals in a half-reclaimed district would be great was inevitable. It may then be asked: How do the Champaran raiyats, as a body, benefit by the settlement? The ways, of course, are manifold, but to emphasise its utility in connection with rent, a single illustration will suffice.

Ghazipur, a permanent settlement district of the North-Western Provinces, was brought under survey and settlement in 1839-40. When 40 or 50 years later the record of rights was brought under revision, rents were found to have increased by 16·94 per cent. In Muzaffarpur, which was not surveyed and settled fifty years ago, rents have since increased by 34 per cent. The original settlement records of Ghazipur had not been maintained when they came under revision, so that their success in maintaining the rents originally recorded was due to no such extraneous aid. I do not omit to notice that the original rent-rates in Ghazipur were high, nor do I anticipate that the

settlement record will be able to secure such stability to the low rent-rates of a half-developed country like Champaran. It will, however, retard the advancement of rent-rates enormously, and so secure to the toilers of the soil a larger share of the unearned increment.

310. The statistical results of this work will now be examined in greater detail. In the following statement the percentage of the total number of holdings brought under suit, and the percentage of holdings in respect of which cases were decided by compromise, after contest, *ex-parte* or by withdrawal are furnished:—

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	Number of raiyati holdings in the thana, excluding rent-free.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS BROUGHT UNDER SUIT.		NUMBER OF HOLDINGS DISPOSED OF BY—										REMARKS.
			No.	Percentage to total holdings in the thana.	Contest.		Compromise.		Ex-parte.		Withdrawal.		Reduction.		
					No.	Percentage to total number sued.	No.	Percentage to total number sued.	No.	Percentage to total number sued.	No.	Percentage to total number sued.	No.	Percentage to total number sued.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Baghua	53,292	16,603	31.10	116	0.70	12,840	77.34	444	2.07	3,199	10.37	4	0.02	
2	Shikarpur	40,808	11,301	27.67	1,020	9.04	6,760	59.87	334	4.73	2,075	26.84	2	0.02	
3	Bettia	64,909	30,009	46.46	2,361	8.85	18,202	67.84	2,071	7.70	4,236	18.74	19	0.07	
	Subdivisional figures ...	167,951	54,903	32.63	3,517	6.42	37,802	68.99	3,040	8.56	10,410	19.0	25	0.04	
4	Adapur	25,447	12,135	47.69	7,420	61.15	3,374	27.80	194	1.90	1,124	9.26	23	0.19	
5	Dhaka	44,184	17,363	39.27	1,810	10.43	18,119	75.20	910	5.94	1,476	8.63	45	0.26	
6	Motihari	39,207	10,691	26.90	4,358	40.70	4,768	44.61	305	3.28	1,267	11.76	70	0.06	
7	Gobindganj	26,627	9,159	37.12	260	3.71	8,889	85.90	656	6.61	478	4.91	1	0.01	
8	Kesaria	28,050	10,474	37.52	1,790	16.46	7,404	70.68	629	6.01	563	5.37	122	1.45	
9	Madhuban	23,194	8,025	35.05	45	1.42	2,879	85.26	132	4.36	342	8.0	39	0.36	
	Sadar Divisional figures	194,708	63,610	32.64	16,698	24.57	30,755	62.56	2,829	4.45	5,140	8.8	260	0.40	
	District figures ...	364,659	118,413	32.47	19,143	16.17	77,567	65.40	5,678	6.97	15,660	13.18	366	0.3	

311. To make the statement complete, a separate column has been assigned to the 285 holdings the rents of which were reduced without any specification of their treatment. Out of a total of 364,659 *raiya*ti holdings (excluding rent-free), no less than 118,413, or 32.4 per cent., were brought under suit, and excluding cases withdrawn, fair rents were settled for 102,863, or 28 per cent. The figures are almost the same for both the subdivisions as far as numbers under suit go, but as more cases were withdrawn in the Bettia subdivision, the ultimate proportion of the holdings for which rents were settled comes out somewhat higher in the Sadar.

312. The reason why the Bettia subdivision does not in this respect far outstrip the Sadar is because, while the supply of land is great, the demand for it is small. In fact, in the northern area the Bettia Raj did not file a single application to enhance rents, being apprehensive that this might lead to general desertion. Of the holdings brought under suit, in respect to 65.4 per cent. there were compromises and 16.1 per cent. contests, while against 13.1 per cent. cases were withdrawn and against 4.9 per cent. decided *ex-parte*. The proportion of compromises is of course overwhelmingly large, and is 2 per cent. higher in the Bettia than in the Sadar subdivision.

313. Coming to individual thanas, we find the largest number of institutions in Adapur, viz., 47.6 per cent., and fittingly so, as both the Madhuban Babu and the European factories there sued all tenants possible. Thana Bettia comes next with a percentage of 41.4, but it was mostly dealt with at the time when a single 8-anna stamp was required on an application, irrespective of the number of tenants joined in it. The smallest percentage is of course returned by Madhuban thana.

314. In connection with the methods of disposal, compromises return the largest percentage, viz., 85·8 per cent. in Gobindganj, where the Turkaulia concern finds itself in a very strong position by reason of its previous measurements. The large percentage of compromises in Madhuban is ascribable to the small number of holdings sued, only 12 per cent., and that, too, principally by the Tikari and Shihhar Court of Wards. The next thanas where we had a large percentage of compromises were Bagaha and Dhaka, the landlord in one case being the Bettia Raj and in the other the Motihari concern. The fewest compromises were in Motihari thana, 44·5 per cent., and in Adapur only 27·8. Both contained a portion of the Madhuban Babu's villages, and while the former was within easy reach of legal advice at Motihari, the latter is peopled by a peasantry both prosperous and independent. Of course, the contests were in a ratio to compromises. They were

respectively). They were higher in Shikarpur than in Bettia as well. The slightly larger percentage in Shikarpur is due to the uncompromising attitude of the Muhammadan raiyats of tappa Deoraj towards the claims of the Bettia Raj, and also to the fact that much land is held by land-owners of less influence. It is striking that contests occurred in 6·4 per cent. only of holdings in Bettia, as against 24·5 in the Sadar. *Ex-parte* cases were everywhere small, and smallest in Adapur. The largest percentage was in Gobindganj (6·6).

315. The reason why more cases against tenants were withdrawn in the Bettia than in the Sadar subdivision was partly because less pressure could be brought to bear, and partly because the *jamabandi* areas and other papers were less accurate. The Bettia Raj had to drop many cases in tappa Deoraj when the tenants resisted. The Ramnagar Raj, partly through its want of influence, partly through ill-kept records, had to do likewise.

Statistics of results of cases instituted.

316. The results of the cases brought under suit will now be considered:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Number of holdings brought under suit.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS IN WHICH RENT--								REMARKS.
			INCREASED.		REDUCED.		EXISTING RENT SETTLED AS PAID.		NO RENT SETTLED (WITHDRAWN).		
			Number.	Percentage to total number of holdings.	Number.	Percentage to total number of holdings.	Number.	Percentage to total number of holdings.	Number.	Percentage to total number of holdings.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Bagaha	16,003	11,873	71·81	4	0·02	1,028	9·30	3,100	19·87	
	Shikarpur	11,251	8,468	87·88	3	·08	1,840	16·30	3,976	35·36	
	Bettia	22,809	13,376	58·77	19	0·07	7,378	32·48	4,291	18·74	
	Subdivisional Total ...	44,863	33,816	81·75	36	0·04	10,766	19·08	10,410	1,809	
	Adapur	13,136	8,711	67·08	23	0·19	5,377	48·49	1,114	9·30	
	Dpaka	17,333	13,367	77·08	46	0·26	3,465	14·30	1,476	8·51	
	Motihari	10,691	8,370	80·23	10	0·09	4,064	37·98	1,367	11·76	
	Gobindganj	9,808	7,731	77·74	1	0·01	1,733	17·44	473	6·81	
	Kauria	10,474	7,314	69·79	108	1·45	3,643	34·79	342	3·28	
	Madhuban	3,095	3,483	114·40	20	0·68	34	0·98	243	8·	
	Sadar Total ...	63,910	41,950	65·79	300	0·41	16,360	25·73	5,140	8·04	
	GRAND TOTAL OF THE DISTRICT	118,413	75,466	63·73	366	0·34	37,112	30·90	15,550	13·13	

317. The rents were increased in 75,466, or 63·7 per cent. of the holdings, and reduced in 285, or ·2 per cent. only. The existing rents were confirmed in 37,112, or 22·9 per cent., and no rent settled in 15,550, or 13·1 per cent. There is very little difference in the subdivisional percentages, except the large number of withdrawals in Bettia, on which I have already commented.

Strange to say, Madhuban shows the largest proportion of rents increased, viz., 81·4 per cent., but it must be borne in mind that the cases were few, mainly brought by the Court of Wards, and careful discrimination was exercised in selecting holdings liable to enhancement of rent. Besides they included those of the Tetaria concern, in the villages under which, as I have described, the patwari himself used to receive rent for many fields not accounted for in the *jamabandi*. As expected, Gobindganj has the next largest percentage of rents increased, viz., 77·7, followed by Dhaka. In Bagaha, too, the percentage is large, viz., 71·5. The lowest percentages are recorded against Motihari and Adapur, 52·2 and 47·0, respectively, the Madhuban cases being the cause. Indeed, it is in these two thanas that the existing rents were settled as fair in a very large number of cases, (43·4 and 37·9, respectively) against the district average of 22·9. Instances of rents being reduced were everywhere insignificant except in Kesaria, where it is more than 1 per cent. In some of the villages of the Pipra concern, the raiyats agreed to *sulahnamas* on condition that, where the terms agreed upon led to reductions, the factory should consent to them as well.

The fair rents settled considered.

318. From holdings brought under suit we come to fair rents settled.

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	For rent of the holdings affected.	Fair rent.	FAIR RENT NOW SETTLED.						INCREASE.				DECREASE, SECTION 30.		TOTAL INCREASE.	
				Contested.		Compromised.		Ex-parte.		Section 52.		Section 30.					
				Amount.	Percentage to total fair rent.	Amount.	Percentage to total fair rent.	Amount.	Percentage to total fair rent.	Amount.	Percentage to total existing rent.	Amount.	Percentage to total existing rent.	Amount.	Percentage to total existing rent.	Amount.	Percentage to total existing rent.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs. A. P.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.
1	Bagaha	1,03,981	1,10,593	953	·93	1,12,679	96·08	2,926	2·81	12,751	12·24	NIL.	NIL.	8 0 0	0·004	12,751	12·27
2	Shikarpur	89,843	91,870	9,836	10·79	70,016	83·27	8,499	8·95	8,424	10·17	17	0·00	7 0 0	0·006	8,435	10·18
3	Bettia	1,66,176	1,75,088	12,936	7·38	1,46,417	84·77	13,786	7·85	15,496	11·83	461	0·28	34 0 0	0·21	15,912	12·10
	Subdivisional Total.	3,42,840	3,81,933	23,723	6·15	3,57,118	88·04	29,000	8·78	30,060	11·67	478	0·13	46 0 0	0·01	40,093	11·69
4	Adapur	1,14,329	1,31,087	82,940	68·20	36,371	30·90	3,307	1·90	7,241	6·33	133	0·13	86 0 0	0·06	7,326	6·38
5	Dhaka	1,94,849	2,13,054	31,781	14·96	1,70,630	70·88	11,514	4·30	19,333	9·68	188	0·08	107 0 0	0·06	19,355	9·68
6	Motihari	88,930	90,498	40,704	45·78	51,400	57·78	4,205	4·44	6,401	7·30	1,160	1·32	62 0 0	0·07	7,561	8·51
7	Gobindganj	77,391	83,905	1,291	1·64	76,918	90·43	6,400	7·00	6,623	8·43	61	0·07	0 4 0	0·0	6,684	8·50
8	Kesaria	85,218	92,983	17,153	19·47	69,064	74·38	6,646	7·15	7,710	9·03	145	0·17	193 0 0	0·21	7,953	8·99
9	Madhuban	30,900	34,181	635	1·87	32,266	94·37	1,280	4·00	2,290	10·38	29	0·09	110 0 0	0·36	2,400	10·39
	Sadar Total	5,91,038	6,42,787	1,74,804	27·80	4,36,577	67·76	32,400	5·14	60,548	8·55	1,715	0·29	675 4 0	0·06	61,068	8·75
	GRAND TOTAL OF THE DISTRICT.	9,33,939	10,25,720	1,90,889	19·36	7,79,680	78·13	64,505	6·33	90,309	9·06	2,108	0·23	621 0 0	0·06	91,793	9·89

319. The existing rental, amounting to Rs. 9,33,939, was raised to Rs. 10,25,720, or by 9·8 per cent. The increase is highest in Bettia, viz., 11·6 per cent., against 8·7 in Sadar. Practically the whole of the increase in both tracts was obtained under section 52 for increased cultivation, the amount added by section 30 due to enhancement of rent-rates being infinitesimal. 75·3 per cent. of the fair rents were settled by compromise, the figure being 88·0 for Bettia, against 67·7 in Sadar. 10·3 per cent. only was obtained by contest, but the relative litigiousness of the two subdivisions is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that, while Bettia returns only 6·1 per cent. of the fair rents decreed after contest, the Sadar shows no less than 27·2. The largest increase, viz., 12·2 per cent., is shown by Bagaha, where 96·6 per cent. of the fair rents were decreed after compromise, and the smallest in Adapur, viz., 6·3 only, where 63·2 per cent. of the fair rents were settled after contest. Indeed we notice that the percentage of compromises and increase almost go hand in hand. The only exception is Gobindganj, where compromise, though numerous, did not result in proportionately large increase because, as I have said above, the landlord had already assessed the excess before our operations began. It must further be remembered that the seemingly large increase in Madhuban, viz., 10·2 per cent., was obtained on a very small part of the total area.

• *Case-work under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885.*

320. Our work in Champaran under this section has been as light and simple as that under section 104 was heavy and difficult. While the latter affected over 25 per cent. of the holdings, the former barely touched 3. The main cause of both is the predominance of the Bettia Raj. In Muzaffarpur, where the landlords are less powerful and tenants more intelligent, and careful of their rights than in Champaran, the position was reversed, the case-work under section 104 affecting only 2·43 per cent. of the holdings, while that under section 105 affected 3·33 per cent.

321. At the beginning of the operations, Mr. Colvin expressed a doubt, whether, in view of the fact that the word "omission" did not occur in section 105, while finding a place in section 106 of the Act, an omission from the record could form the subject of a summary objection. The Director decided that it could. This error in drafting has been rectified in the Amendment Act of 1898.

322. One other point deserves notice. Mr. Colvin in his desire to make the procedure for the hearing of summary objections and disputes as workable as possible, argued that sections 105 (2) and section 106 should be read together; that all applications for the correction of the record should be filed in the same way, and subject to the limit of time imposed by section 105 (2); which were uncontested should be dealt with

satisfied with a summary decision. Had all these been done the operations would still have been very far from completion.

The advantages of course were that a period would be fixed within which disputes might be filed, and no dispute would be heard twice, once as a summary objection, and again as a formal suit. These are of no consideration by the side of the disadvantage named above.

323. The total number of objections summarily decided was 12,432, distributed as follows :—

YEAR.			Number of objections decided.
1			2
1892-93	...	...	48
1893-94	...	...	2,226
1894-95	...	...	1,097
1895-96	...	...	3,971
1896-97	...	...	4,050
1897-98	...	...	1,022
1898-99	...	...	18
Total			12,432

It is evident that this work was heaviest in 1895-96 and 1896-97, when the operations were confined for the most part to the southern half of the district. The number of objections again fell off when we went north to the Bagaha and Shikarpur thanas.

323. In the following statement these objections are classified thana by thana, under various heads, according to the nature of the objection, viz., possession, rent, status, &c., &c. :—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	RIGHT OF POSSESSION.		POSSESSION.		POSSESSION AND RENT.		RENT.		RENT AND STATUS.	
		Number.	Percentage to the total of district.	Landlord rayya.	Rayya landlord.	Landlord rayya.	Rayya landlord.	Landlord rayya.	Rayya landlord.	Landlord rayya.	Rayya landlord.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Bagaha	...	...	24	28	17	77	8-49	1	18	3
2	Shikarpur	...	...	24	28	17	77	8-49	1	18	3
3	Bettia	...	...	11	124	17	73	8-49	1	18	3
4	Adapur	47	82-0	6	96	27	55	183	8-28	1	22
5	Dhaka	41	8-08	10	845	35	148	538	24-13	76	16
6	Motihari	9	0-17	8	132	40	51	237	10-73	10	7
7	Gobindganj	4	8-74	40	304	84	111	425	19-24	32	18
8	Kesaria	50	80-55	17	240	11	0	346	15-69	47	6
9	Madhubani	13	8-90	18	85	15	43	150	7-06	5	1
District figures		140	100	132	1,216	217	573	2,200	100	170	69

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	PRODUCTION.		STATUS.		TREES.		AREA.		MISCELLANEOUS.		TOTAL.		REMARKS.
		Number.	Percentage to the district total.	Landlord rayya.	Rayya landlord.	Number.	Percentage to the district total.	Number.	Percentage to the district total.	Number.	Percentage to the district total.	Number.	Percentage to the district total.	
		24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
1	Bagaha	45	8-04	1	18	10	2-56	3	0-11	11	4-83	11	1-54	3-66
2	Shikarpur	3	0-14	1	3	1	0-54	1	0-03	1	0-03	7	0-99	0-50
3	Bettia	316	1-46	70	61	137	18-46	1,062	56-03	39	16-38	17	2-40	16-46
4	Adapur	291	10-88	34	16	40	5-39	50	3-14	20	10-24	127	17-58	15-33
5	Dhaka	335	16-17	87	33	110	14-83	123	6-58	61	24-03	109	14-45	17-51
6	Motihari	679	28-11	58	15	70	9-45	199	10-60	30	7-87	261	36-58	18-78
7	Gobindganj	401	28-03	140	7	147	19-81	116	6-18	61	24-01	100	14-14	14-97
8	Kesaria	301	11-96	180	82	207	27-90	301	16-02	31	12-00	66	9-24	12-28
9	Madhubani	84	1-10	7	1	8	1-08	20	1-28	8	1-18	16	2-20	4-50
District figures		2,168	100	870	166	743	100	1,878	100	254	100	707	100	12,438

324. The percentage of objections filed in each thana and the percentage to the number of holdings in each thana are as follows:—

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	PERCENTAGE OF CASES FILED IN THE THANA—	
		To the district total.	To the number of holdings in the thana.
1	2	3	4
1	Bagaha	3-06	60
2	Shikarpur	50	11
3	Bettia	18-46	3-28
4	Adapur	15-22	6-91
5	Dhaka	17-21	4-86
6	Motihari	13-70	5-38
7	Gobindganj	14-97	4-19
8	Kesaria	12-38	3-63
9	Madhubani	4-50	2-13
Total for district		100	8-10

326. It will be noticed that Bettiah contributes the largest number of objections, but it is explained away by two facts—(1) that over 50 per cent. of its cases relate only to trees, and to these I shall revert later on; (2) that the operations were commenced in this thana when the orders about court-fees were less stringent than those subsequently issued. Discounting this, it is Dhaka thana with its contingent of petty landlords and intelligent raiyats that heads the list. Then comes Adapur with a prosperous tenantry to a large extent on bad terms with the chief landlords, the Madhuban Babu and the Muria Factory, particularly the former, and Gobindganj with its petty rent-free holders and *diars* raiyats is a close third. Madhuban thana covers a very small area, but its percentage of objections to holdings is also small, smaller indeed than I should have expected in view of its proximity to Tirhut. Bagaha and Shikarpur come of course at the end of the list. From the percentages of objections to holdings Adapur would appear to be the most litigious thana, with Motihari a close second. Dhaka and Gobindganj came next, followed by Madhuban and Bettia. Bagaha and Shikarpur are of course very far behind. The district average, as has been said, is three objections to every hundred holdings.

327. The following percentages are interesting, as indicating the relative numerical importance of the different kinds of objections:—

The nature of objections.

Serial No.	Nature.	Percentage.
1	2	3
1	Zirat or bakasht ...	1·17
2	Possession ...	17·77
3	Ditto and rent ...	3·05
4	Rent ...	26·80
5	Do. and status ...	4·85
6	Produce rent ...	17·56
7	Status ...	5·97
8	Trees ...	15·10
9	Area ...	2·04
10	Miscellaneous ...	5·69
	Total ...	100·00

By far the most important are those affecting rent. Indeed, including produce-rent and the cases in which question of possession or status was combined with rent, more than half the total number of objections are accounted for. But it must not be inferred that there was anything like wide-spread rent disputing, such as was met with in Muzaffarpur. It can only be said that more than half of the insignificant amount of litigation of this class in this district referred to rents, but even so less than 2 per cent. of the holdings were affected. As might be expected, Adapur thana is responsible for no less than 3 per cent. of the total number of purely money-rent objection cases, Bettia returns 17 per cent., Dhaka with its petty proprietors scores 14, and Gobindganj comes out with 10 per cent., the rent disputes with the Turkaulia concern referred to in the section on attestation being the cause. Motihari returns only 7 per cent. and the rest 6 and under. Turning to produce rents, we find the largest percentages, 26 and 22, filed in Motihari and Gobindganj respectively. As the cases were mainly uncontested, the errors can only be attributed to careless attestation in 1894-95. It will be shown in the chapter on statistics that the area held on produce rents is very small.

Objections regarding possession come next in importance, accounting for over 17 per cent. of the total number. Dhaka returns the largest number, 24 per cent., for this is the thana where petty proprietors abound. Then comes Gobindganj with 19 per cent. to whose petty rent-free holders, most numerous in tappas Sakhwa and Sonewal, I have already referred. In Kesaria, where

substantial and intelligent tenants are many, and in the neighbourhood of Kesaria, Dharampur and Dhaka, the percentage is 15. In Adampur it is remarkably small, viz., eight only, showing that the disputes there were not about land, but only about its rent. In Motihari and Bettia the percentage is ten.

It is noteworthy that out of 2,209 cases affecting possession, 572, or 25 per cent., were between raiyat and raiyat.

Third in numerical importance come the cases relating to trees. I have already described the controversy that centred round the entry of trees at the commencement of operations. Final principles were not determined until after the attestation of the main portion of the Bettia thana. Hence 56 per cent. of the objections of this class were filed in the Bettia thana, a circumstance which impairs the value of the statistics as a whole. When the other thanas came under attestation the main principles to be followed in entering trees had been determined. Hence fewer objections were subsequently brought, but they were fairly numerous in thanas Motihari and Kesaria, where indigo-planters, who are very jealous of this right, predominate.

The remaining classes of objections can be dismissed in a few words. Only 6 per cent. were with regard to status. About half were filed by tenants claiming to be raiyats at fixed rates, but few of them succeeded in making good the claim. Only one per cent. of the objections was brought for the entry of land as *sirāt* (proprietor's private land). The question is of no importance in this district, where a land-owner's main object is to get his land available for cultivation, but lying waste, settled with raiyats.

328. Although the disposal of summary objections constituted a minor branch of the operations in Champaran, I have analysed their nature at some length, because a side light is thus thrown on the quality of the work of attestation officers and on its effect on the relation of tenants to their landlords and to each other. The procedure adopted in dealing with objections has been described in the Muzaffarpur report, and being of a summary nature, does not require to be repeated here.

Case-work under section 106 of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

329. The progress made year by year in dealing with disputes under section 106 was as follows:—

The amount of work.

Name of year.			Number of disputes.
1			2
1892-93	...	...	27
1893-94	...	...	203
1894-95	...	...	328
1895-96	...	...	322
1896-97	...	...	914
1897-98	...	...	1,386
1898-99	...	..	71
Total			3,251

These cases did not affect even one *khatian* in a hundred, and barely exceed one per village. Their number was heaviest in 1896-97 and 1897-98,

when the very heavy and important attestation area of 1895-96, which included the major portion of the Sadar subdivision, was brought under final publication. On the other hand, although we published finally over 500 villages in 1898-99, the number of cases disposed of in that year was only 71, once more emphasising how simple the work was in the northern parts of the district. The figures are analysed in the following table classifying the cases, thana by thana, according to the nature of the main issues involved:—

Number.	NAME OF THANA.	Main cases held.	POSSESSION.					MONEY-RENT.				Freedom rent.	STATUS.				From.	Area.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
			Landlord landlord.	Raiyat raiya.	Landlord raiya.	Raiyat landlord.	Total.	Landlord raiya.	Raiyat landlord.	Total.	Landlord rai ya.		Raiyat landlord.	Total.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
1	Bomha	...	2	1	4	...	8	...	4	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
2	Shikarpur	...	...	1	...	...	18	...	10	11	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	28
3	Bettia	...	5	20	18	50	100	...	64	75	139	...	...	...	...	...	...	408
4	Adapur	...	...	11	11	28	50	...	30	408	258	...	...	...	...	...	...	978
5	Dhaka	...	...	8	10	45	63	...	60	98	158	...	...	...	...	...	...	380
6	Motihari	...	...	17	7	34	58	...	61	401	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	408
7	Gobindganj	...	1	74	11	20	104	...	45	50	95	...	...	...	...	...	...	420
8	Kesaria	...	1	3	7	18	29	...	28	51	79	...	...	...	...	...	...	347
9	Madhuban	...	...	6	19	12	37	...	31	61	92	...	...	...	...	...	...	323
	Total	...	9	134	68	253	567	1,172	118	1,290	799	699	18	440	47	4	103	5,361		

330. The following statement shows the percentages of the cases relating to each thana, and the percentage to the number of holdings in each thana:—

NAME OF THANA.	PERCENTAGE—	
	To the district total of cases.	To total holdings in the thana.
1	2	3
1. Bagaha	46	02
2. Shikarpur	169	10
3. Bettia	1242	58
4. Adapur	2700	321
5. Dhaka	1012	67
6. Motihari	2036	200
7. Gobindganj	1860	98
8. Kesaria	759	58
9. Madhuban	686	87
Total	10000	81

The largest number of cases comes from Adapur, the unfortunate arena of the struggles of the tappa Duho Subo raiyats with their landlord, the Madhuban Babu. Motihari with its mahajans and also with a portion of the Babu's *desh* within it towards the north, comes next with a percentage of 20. It is in these two thanas also that the percentage of cases to *khatians* is the highest, viz., 8 and 2 respectively, or taking one case to affect one *khatian*, 3 *khatians* in every hundred in Adapur and 2 in Motihari were affected by these disputes, as against the district average of only 81. Gobindganj, Bettia and Dhaka come

next, each accounting for between 10 and 18 per cent. of the cases. The Bettia percentage was raised by a large number of cases brought by the Raj against petty rent-free holders. For the other thanas the figures are so insignificant that they do not require special mention.

The nature of disputes.

331. The following table compares the numerical importance of each class of case:—

	Percentage to the total number of cases.
Zirait ...	28
Possession ...	17.43
Money-rent ...	39.68
Produce-rent ...	24.36
Status ...	13.54
Trees ...	1.45
Area ...	.12
Miscellaneous ...	3.14
Total	100.00

332. Again the rent cases are the most numerous, as expected. Adapur and Motihari head the list with the very high percentages of 37 and 32 respectively, due to the causes already enumerated. For the rest, the percentages fall to 7 and under. There is also another noticeable feature in the Adapur rent cases, while the number brought by the landlord was 430, only 58 were brought by the raiyats. This indicates the attempt made by the Madhuban Babu to wear down his raiyats into admitting as existing, rents that they had never paid.

333. It has been explained how rent disputes had been going on between the Madhuban Babu and his raiyats for over 15 years, and that it resolved itself into the Babu claiming Rs. 8 or 9 per bigha, while the tenants admitted only Rs. 3 per bigha. The Babu sued several of them under section 104 for the settlement of fair rents, but when he came to realise that the first issue that must be raised is "what is the existing rent," and that its decision would, under the Full Bench ruling in the case of *Dengu Kazi versus Nabin Kissori Chowdhani* (Indian Law Reports, XXIV, Calcutta, 462), operate as *res judicata* to bar the subsequent trial of the question, under sections 105 and 106, he withdrew most still pending, and after draft publication filed disputes under section 106 against all of the raiyats indiscriminately. In April or May 1897, when the famine was at its height, about 130 of these tenants came into head-quarters and admitted the Babu's claim. Obviously they were not acting as free agents, and I determined to postpone the cases until September, when a good *bhadoi* harvest would have put fresh heart into them. When September came most of the tenants withdrew these compromises, some asserting that they had not been filed by them, but by paid creatures of the Babu, who personated them. Some, on the other hand, filed ordinary petitions saying that they did not wish to contest the Babu's claim, and the rent demanded could be entered as existing. They did not admit, however, that they had ever paid these rents, so that the Assistant Settlement Officer, Maulvi Syed Ahmed Ali Khan refused to accept the petitions as compromises. Thus the raiyats have been given every opportunity demanded by justice and fairness to stand by their rights, but I believe many compromises have again been filed in the Court of the Special Judge at Chapra. It must be recognised that when tenants are called on to attest compromises, so far from their homes, the risk of false personation is very formidable, and although

it is largely minimised by the careful precautions that Mr. Caspersz adopts, it probably cannot be removed entirely. I have mentioned that the issue of existing rents was in some cases decided under section 104. When cases against the same tenants were brought under section 106, the Assistant Settlement Officer of course dismissed them, the issue being *res judicata*. In one of these carried on appeal before the former Special Judge, a compromise was put in, which he accepted, though the grounds why the suit could not lie, were clearly set forth in the original judgment. The matter was referred to Mr. Pennell, when officiating as Special Judge. He admitted that his predecessor's order was wrong, but said that he possessed no power to review it.

324. The produce rent cases, with a percentage of 24, come next. There also the list is headed by Adapur, which is responsible for no less than 259 out of a total of 792 cases. But this time it was not the Madhuban Babu, but the Bettia Raj that figured as plaintiff. It had recently acquired a big estate, called Bhopatpur estate, or more popularly speaking, mahal Narkatia in tappa Bahas of thana Adapur. Here the practice is for almost every tenant to hold a portion of his holding on what is called the system of *hunda* rent, whereby he stipulates to pay a certain amount of paddy, usually 10 to 20 maunds per bigha, to his landlord, on a specified portion of his holding. Many of the *hunda* claims were contested, and as the papers of the old proprietor's time were in confusion, the Raj found itself at a disadvantage. The Manager tried his best to settle these disputes even after they had come to Court, and achieved a fair amount of success.

335. Next in numerical order stand the cases involving questions of possession. They are 467 in number, of which 155, or over 33 per cent., are between landlords and tenants. Disputes about possession. Of course the big landlords of the district very seldom fight with each other. But it is the numerous *birt*dars (rent-free holders), or more properly speaking, the purchasers of *birt* rights, that have largely figured as litigants in our Courts. The old Maharajas of Bettia so far regarded it a meritorious act to make gifts of land to Brahmans, that there is hardly a village belonging to the Raj in which some *birts* are not to be found. Many of these rent-free tenures have since been alienated, and are now in other hands than those of Brahmans. Indeed, some have been sold twice over by the same man, the result being endless litigation. A very remarkable case of the kind cropped up in thana Gobindganj. The keenness of the contest was evidenced by the fact that over 80 witnesses were examined and several fictitious documents filed. The case was dismissed by Pandit Rama Ballabh Misra, but is still on appeal. Then, again, land is given for the support of a temple or *math*. There are rival claimants for the endowment, and a dispute is filed. No cases are more keenly contested or difficult to decide. Then the *diara birts* gave a good deal of trouble, some of them had diluviated long ago, but at the time of survey extensive plots on the side of the Gandak, still covered with sand, were claimed as *birts*, and the old ant-eaten *sanads*, and in some cases even maps, were put in in support. The Bettia Raj always opposed them, and in many cases with success. The title-deeds, though apparently genuine, always omitted the most important detail, viz., the boundaries, and the question of identity of the land in suit with that in the *sanad* was always a very hard nut for the *birt*dars to crack.

336. There were also a limited number of cases in which the Raj had to sue its old mukarraridars, who were thikadars also in the same villages, for having had their *thika* lands surveyed within their *mukarrari*. In thana Motihari a case of this kind cropped up, in which over 100 witnesses had to be examined. The point that the Raj mainly relied upon was that the present area of the mukarri was larger than the admittedly original area. But this was not enough, there being no evidence of the specific plots encroached on. The defendant completely met the claim by proving that the original settlement was made by certain boundaries which he had not overstepped. Last, though not the least, come boundary disputes which it was often sought to revive under this section. But it was invariably found that the party aggrieved had not previously appealed to the Collector against the decision passed under the Survey Act, and consequently section 63 of the Act barred his suit. In a

few cases, however, where it was apparent that the boundary dispute had been wrongly decided, I ordered a re-enquiry and revision.

337. The most intricate disputes filed were those between landlord and landlord, and they would probably have been more numerous, but for the ruling, *Pundit Sardar versus Meajan Mirdha* (Indian Law Reports, Volume XXI for 1894, Calcutta Series), which found that the decision of the Revenue Officer did not oust the jurisdiction of the Civil Court. Indeed, on the strength of this ruling Mr. Colvin struck off many pending disputes, but under superior orders they were restored to the file. The Amendment Act has now removed all ambiguity.

338. The only other class of dispute that needs detailed reference is that connected with status, accounting for over 18 per cent. of the total number. Some of the cases

Disputes about status.

of course arose out of the claims of tenants to hold at fixed rents, but the question arose whether, when a landlord sued for the cancelment of this status entered in the record, the onus was on him, or on the tenant. Mr. Colvin held the former view and dismissed a suit, the landlord having failed to discharge the onus. But the High Court on appeal held that, having regard to the special provisions of section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, the onus should, in the first instance, have been thrown on the defendant, i.e. the raiyat, who ought to have been asked to prove the antiquity of his holding and continuity of the same rate for 20 years to establish the statutory presumption in his favour. The plaintiff should then, and not till then, have been called on to rebut it. The bare fact of an entry in the record made after a summary enquiry did not absolve, in their opinion, the raiyat from this responsibility. Presumably, under the Amendment Act the onus has been shifted on to the landlord by final publication taking place prior to the filing of disputes. Another difficulty arose in the trial of section 104 cases in 1894-95. The Motihari concern was fighting some of its tenants for enhancement of rate under section 30, but they had been attested as holding at fixed rates (*sharamoyan*). Mr. Lyon's instructions to the case officers were to frame a preliminary issue on this subject, and to call on the raiyats to establish their right to the presumption before the landlords were asked to meet it. In short, the general principle was that every raiyat must be presumed to be a settled raiyat. If a higher standard is claimed, the onus is on the raiyat. If a lower standard is claimed, it is on the landlord to prove it. But now a superior presumption will lie in favour of a finally published entry, and the onus must lie on him who would challenge it. But the greatest number of status suits are traceable to other origins. Sometime ago the Bettia Raj made a systematic attempt to resume and assess what it called invalid *birts*. The birt-dars were called on to execute *kabuliyats* for rents purposely pitched low. Some birt-dars, however, refused to execute *kabuliyats*, while others who executed them would pay no rent. In such cases the claims of the Raj failed, but there were also many cases in which genuine *kabuliyats* had been registered, were produced, and regular payments proved. These *birts* were therefore recorded as "*bandobasti*" (or assessed) *birts*, and the owners, when they had no raiyats under them, as "*birt bandobasti kaemi*," or, in other words, they were classed as settled raiyats, but the word "*birt bandobasti*" was added to differentiate them.

339. Again there were several other cases in which the Raj sued its *tikadars* for having fraudulently got occupancy holdings recorded fictionally in the name of their relations or servants, the holdings being really in their own possession as *thikadars* and not as raiyats. It was contended that the rights had not been acquired before the *thikadars*' leases were taken. As the leases had been running admittedly from time immemorial, this was a contention not easily rebutted, but the *thikadars* often succeeded in producing road cess *jamabandis* bearing the Manager's signature, with the holdings in disputes actually entered as recorded in our papers, and the plaintiff in the face of them usually failed to make good his claim. These cases, unlike those relating to "*birt bandobasti*" were generally brought forward at the dispute stage for the first time, without a preliminary enquiry under section 105.

340. The number of native *thikadars* and *birt-dars* is very considerable in thanas Bettia, Gobindganj and Kesaria, *birt-dars* being most prevalent in the first two thanas, and *thikadars* in the first and the last. Consequently it

was in these three thanas that the cases of this class were largely instituted, the percentages being—

Bettia	...	...	...	24
Kesaria	...	...	...	23
Gohindganj	...	...	...	21
In all	...	...	...	68

The cases of other classes require no comment, but it will be noticed and understood that disputes about trees account for only 1.45 per cent. of those filed.

341. A certain amount of historical interest centres round this subject.

Court-fees. In the first two years of our operations, when no Court-fee was levied for 105 section cases, only one fee of 8 annas was prescribed for those under section 106. In 1894-95 the Government of India passed orders that *ad valorem* Court-fees should be levied on disputes. But the difficulty was what value to assign to our decrees; especially as no specific relief was granted. Acting on the advice of the Special Judge of Muzaffarpur, Mr. Lyon, the then Settlement Officer, classed them all as declaratory decrees, so that the amount of Court-fee leviable was Rs. 10 for each plaint under schedule II, clause 17, section 3 of the Court-fees Act. The Board, however, expressed a doubt of the necessity for imposing so high a fee, and ultimately it was decided that, as these carried the consequential relief of amending the entries where necessary, in the record of rights, there was nothing to prohibit the fee being levied, according to the market value of each claim at the prescribed rate. Since then this practice has continued, having once only been slightly threatened by the "Upadhya Thakur" ruling referred to in the section dealing with the settlement of fair rents. In all cases, the plaintiff gives a valuation, which, if challenged by the defendant, is made the subject of a separate issue, and determined after taking evidence. The Court also sometimes revises the valuation where it is too low. Instances, however, arise that do not admit of a proper valuation in money, as, for instance, disputes in regard to status. There a fee of Rs. 10 is demanded. From a description that I have given above of the status cases, it will be readily conceded that so large a fee cannot be taken to operate generally as a hardship.

Appeals.

342. I will conclude with statistics of appeals—

No. of Appeals—		Decided.				
Instituted.	Pending.	Upheld.	Modified.	Upset.	Demanded.	Otherwise disposed of.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
648	474	23	2	6	1	137

As far as this statement goes, the result is not unsatisfactory, but a very large number of appeals have yet to be disposed of, their decision, after the Settlement Department has been disbanded, will not, I hope, cause any practical difficulty.

343. The most important disputes in Champaran were without doubt the

Judicial procedure in its application to a backward district.

Madhuban Babu's cases, and their history justifies, in my opinion, the reflection that, where agricultural conditions are very backward and the tenantry depressed, a formal judicial procedure carries with it many inherent drawbacks and dangers. The Amendment Act of 1898 has confirmed and strengthened this procedure, perhaps rightly so, because it was framed for the whole of a province, in most of which the tenantry is in an advanced state of enlightenment and independence. In such conditions a judicial procedure is robbed of most of its dangers, and probably gives more general satisfaction. Where, however, development is backward, as in Champaran and several other parts of

Bihar, the position of an ignorant tenantry, if threatened by a powerful and grasping landlord, is precarious, and their main security lies in the trial of the disputes by the Department that has framed the record of rights. Where, however, their heart fails them, their condition is desperate.

DRAFT PUBLICATION.

344. The following statement shows the progress of the work under this head in Champaran year by year:—

Year.	No. of villages.	REMARKS.
1	2	3
1892-93	71	
1893-94	224	
1894-95	311	
1895-96	632	
1896-97	714	
1897-98	889	
1898-99	Nil	
Total	2,841	

345. The rules, both old and new, require that "an officer, not below the rank of a kanungo," should be deputed to publish the records. On the 16th December 1893, Mr. Macpherson, Director of Land Records, sent round a circular (No. 3297S.) enquiring how the rule had worked in practice, what class of men had been generally appointed to the work, and whether there was any necessity of prescribing any minimum pay for them. The class of officer employed in this work was found to differ considerably in different settlements. In Champaran the kanungos were recruited from peshkars and men of that status. This was in accord with the rule framed by Mr. Finucane as Director of Land Records in 1889, which has since been generally followed in Bihar. Under the attestation rules, kanungos receive Rs. 25 per month and are allowed two peons to call the villagers together. Their programmes are drawn out providing for the publication of about 1,200 plots a day.

346. According to the old Government rules under the Tenancy Act the draft publication was to come off after the settlement of fair rents, and the records after publication were to be left in the "village landlord's cutcherry" for a month.

Sir Charles Elliott condemned the rules in his letter, dated 26th February 1894. He observed that the draft publication "should be done as soon as possible after the attestation, while the hearing of it is fresh in the minds of the persons concerned." He added: "It cannot be thought of that valuable original records should be deposited in such sheds as are often called the landlord's cutcherry without any security against white-ants, damp, fire, theft, and fraud, and I cannot understand how such a rule can have been framed."

Sir Charles Elliott's view was that the landlords should get foils of the *parchas* with the areas of each field filled up free of cost, and that a period of three months should elapse in every case between draft and final publication, the record in the interval remaining open for inspection in the settlement office or that of the Assistant Settlement Officer in charge of the circle.

347. While these amendments were under consideration, Mr. Colvin had to decide what course to adopt in regard to the villages that had been or were being attested in the season 1893-94. He drew up a set of rules, which he forwarded to the Director with his letter No. 203, dated 18th March 1894, the principal features of which were that the draft publication was to be done before settlement of fair rents, the kanungo was to receive petitions under section 105,

but not under section 106, and that instead of having the record in the landlord's cutcherry, a fair copy of the *terijes* of the *khatians* was to be delivered over to the landlord's agent for the preparation of petitions of objection or dispute. The arrangement about the *terijes* was come to, just after the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Bettia, at the special request of Mr. Gibbon. After these rules had worked for some time, the Manager preferred an appeal to the Board, pointing out that all that was done to publish the draft was to read out the contents before a few tenants, that it was done before the of fair-rent cases, and also that the records were not deposited in his cutcherry. His complaint was that the whole procedure was contrary to the rules and worked to the injury of the estate.

348. Mr. Colvin, with justifiable indignation pointed out that Mr. Gibbon had himself declined to be responsible for the records, had himself suggested the preparation of *terijes* and the procedure had been adopted with his acquiescence, and that the Revenue officer was bound to defer publication only where section 104 cases were filed within the prescribed time. The Director, while pointing out certain technical irregularities, generally endorsed Mr. Colvin's views, but the matter was not set at rest until the Government of India ruled that draft publication was to be done after the settlement of fair rents. Then Mr. Gibbon (some of his barred fair-rent cases being accepted) withdrew his appeal to the Board.

349. All the draft publication in the district was thereafter done in accordance with the Government of India's instructions, and as fair-rent cases were filed in most villages, very few were draft published direct by the attestation officer. Kanungoes were sent out from head-quarters for this purpose, and their work was necessarily subjected to the slenderest supervision. It is a matter for satisfaction that the Amendment Act of 1898 and the rules framed under it authorising draft publication to be done immediately after attestation, has provided a partial remedy, for the kanungo attached to each camp is always liable to surprise visits, from the Assistant Settlement Officer, who is carefully enjoined to make them at irregular intervals.

FINAL PUBLICATION.

350. The agency employed for both kinds of publication was similar, but for final publication the kanungoes were more carefully selected, and were allowed three instead of two peons, the work generally being more scattered. The outturn of final publication year by year is as follows:—

1894-95	...	..	...	...	300
1895-96	..	...	...	...	370
1896-97	...	...	...	...	891
1897-98	...	...	...	...	773
1898-99	..	...	...	...	507
Total					2,841

Thus final publication was not begun until the second year after draft publication, but some delay at the commencement of entirely original work when principles and procedure were still undecided, was inevitable. Final publication, except as complying with a legal formality, was before the Tenancy Act was amended a mere waste of money. The service of a notice by a peon would have been a sufficient substitute. The fair copies of the record of rights are never distributed to parties at final publication, but when costs are recovered, the acquisition of these being the object that induce them to pay the costs so readily, and if any clerical errors have crept in, the parties detect them not by final publication, but by the scrutiny of their fair copies subsequently received.

351. Although not much practical utility accrued from final publication, yet the procedure involved considerable practical difficulty. Disputes under section 106 could be instituted at any time before final publication, and no limit of time was fixed within which they had to be filed. The original idea was that final publication should be deferred until all disputes were decided, and in consequence it not unfrequently happened that a day or two prior to that fixed for final publication a landlord put in one unimportant case, so

as to get leisure for preparing others, and so on *ad infinitum*. Progress was terribly hampered and I introduced the system of piece-meal final publication, the Legal Remembrancer, who was consulted, having ruled that this was legal. Under this plan only the *khatians* or *khwat* entries affected by pending disputes were exempted from final publication on the day fixed. This remedy, however, was not without its drawbacks, for it meant the expense of deputing a *kanungo* two or even more times to a village before the final publication was completed, for under the law of 1885 the record of rights had to be read out locally.

352. There was another difficulty connected with the work. Before the present system of village case registers was introduced, a few village records were finally published while some objection cases were still undecided. Doubts were entertained as to whether the Settlement Officer could cancel the final publication. The Legal Remembrancer was consulted by the Director, and his reply was in the affirmative. He pointed out that final publication under the circumstances was *ultra vires* and therefore revocable (Director's letter No. 258, of 1897).

OFFICE WORK.

352. This report would be incomplete without a reference to the mass of unostentatious work done in the office at headquarters. A list of the departments and the number of the staff employed when the operations were in full swing is given below:—

Serial number.	Name of Department	Largest number of hands employed when work was in full swing.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4
1	English office	5	
2	Record-room	8	
3	Head Peshkar's office	10	
4	(a) Sarishtadar's office	22	
	(b) Janch department	91	
	(c) Safai department	510	
	(d) Moama department	48	
6	Computation of settlement costs	56	
6	Recovery of Cost and Certificate Department	18	
7	Publication Kanungoes	10	
8	English and Vernacular copyists	150	
	Miscellaneous, peons, &c.		
	Total	728	

353. The work done by the different departments year by year is shown in the following statement:—

Serial number.	Nature of work done.	1892-93.		1903-94.		1894-95.		1895-96.		1896-97.		1897-98.		1898-99.		Total.		REMARKS.
		Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	Number of villages.	Number of plots.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	Draft publication	71	75,053	224	270,400	311	4,07,858	452	796,700	718	770,003	889	487,049	80	55,513	2,441	2,402,760	
2	Janch peshkar or peshkar's check	...	...	293	346,433	311	4,07,858	352	804,366	947	1,03,293	867	581,162	...	...	2,441	2,402,760	
3	Sarishtadar's check	...	...	...	...	311	4,07,858	240	244,165	608	1,121,344	942	172,693	176	116,804	2,441	2,402,760	
4	Safai (copying)	...	...	205	316,133	311	4,07,858	97	88,049	980	1,149,308	870	634,003	278	177,713	2,441	2,402,760	
5	Moama, i.e., final check and comparison (mukabils)	...	...	205	316,133	311	4,07,858	61	76,374	679	1,115,231	803	620,445	380	234,106	2,441	2,402,760	
6	Final publication	...	...	...	...	360	352,396	370	408,922	891	1,008,551	773	660,958	607	311,775	2,441	2,402,760	
7	Computation ...	...	...	...	...	300	...	370	...	647	...	1,003	...	608	...	...	...

* Two hundred and ninety-five villages were not checked by sarishtadar in 1893-94, as the system was not then introduced.
† There was only mukabils in 1893-94, 1894-95. Moama mukabils was introduced in 1894-95.

From these statements an idea of the magnitude and variety of the work is obtained.

354. In the Muzaffarpur report a full account has been given of the English office, the department for issuing copies to the public, and the system of accounts.

355. When the survey records are received, they are handed over to the care of the Record-keeper, who enters them in the proper registers. The registers and the system

under which they are kept have also been fully explained in the Muzaffarpur report. The programmes of attestation were drawn up at head-quarters, and then the record went through the various stages of attestation, section 104 work, draft publication, and section 105 work, all of which have already been discussed at length. In Champaran the section 104 cases were so numerous that draft publication had ordinarily to be done from head-quarters, whereas in Muzaffarpur, where the cases were few in number, it was done directly from the attestation camps. The disposal of case work after the completion of attestation took as a rule quite six months. After that the records were placed in the Sarishtadar's hands to be checked.

356. Cases under all three sections of the Act (104, 105 and 106) went straight to the Head Peshkar's department, where the stamps were punched. They were then forwarded to the record room for an office report as to whether they had been filed within the prescribed period, &c. When they came back to the Head Peshkar with this report, orders as to their registration were passed. The Head Peshkar entered them in the general register and their numbers only in the mauzawar registers, keeping them in mauzawar bundles as long as they were not referred to any officer for disposal. After disposal, they were returned by the case officers concerned direct to the record-room. The principal and most important improvement on the original system in this office was the introduction of mauzawar registers in 1895-96, which greatly facilitated the disposal of all cases connected with one village at the same time and rendered their oversight impossible.

357. The work of the Sarishtadar's department calls for a more detailed explanation. In this department the record now goes through three stages,—(i) *janch* (check and *terij* writing), (ii) *safai* (copying), (iii) *mohabita* (comparison) and *maaina* (final check).

(i) *janch* and *terij* writing is the initial stage, where the record is subjected to a thorough overhauling.

Janch (check)

All the corrections made in accordance with the orders passed by the attestation officer are checked, and orders of amendment not already complied with are carried out. The entries in the columns for fair rent are compared with the fair rent schedules and the record further corrected, if so required by the orders passed under section 105. The area and plots of every tenant or holding are next totalled up, and the entries are then abstracted into a form called the *terij*. The first portion of the work is done by muharrirs who worked as munsarims in attestation camps, and the second by a separate staff paid at contract rates. I may add that the latter also prepare a further abstract of the *terij* in a form called the *goshwara*, the village abstract, which I shall discuss in a later chapter. The record with its *terij* and *goshwara* is again subjected to a check by the *janch* peshkar, the head of a *janch* squad which usually consist of 4 munsarims, 1 *peshi* muharrir and 3 *terij* muharrirs besides the peshkar, and has records of certain attestation camps allotted to it for examination. The next stage is the sarishtadar's check done by him with the aid of his assistants, generally one or two in number, after which the record is passed on to the Copying department.

(ii) The Safai department is another very large section of the vernacular office for copying. This department is manned by one Head

Safai (copying).

Supervisor and his *peshi muharrir*, with two or three supervisors under him according to the amount of the work to be done, and a set of *safai muharrirs* grouped into squads one under each supervisor, making up a total of 40 to 50 men.

(iii) The third process is *moaina* where a *moaina munsarim* after sum-

Moaina (final check.)

marily checking the *khewat* and *khatian* undertakes the work of com-

parison. He is assisted by three *muharrirs*, one in charge of the original, and the other two of the *maliki* and *raiya* copies respectively. The *munsarim* himself takes charge of the Collectorate copy, which eventually becomes the record-of-right, as it is this copy which is sent out for final publication.

358. By these three processes all inaccuracies are, as far as possible, brought to light. When any inaccuracy or apparent discrepancy is found, it is at once entered in a prescribed form. These notes known as *badars* (literally mistakes), are put up before the Assistant Settlement Officer in charge of the office daily for orders. The work expanded with the expansion of the field of our operations. It was heaviest in 1895-96 and 1896-97, particularly in the latter year, when the records of the major portion of the Sadar subdivision, embracing the more important parts of the district which had been attested in 1895-96 were taken in hand. It is noteworthy that in the first year of the office work there was no check except *janch* or the initial stage. Mr. Colvin devised a rule according to which the *janch munsarim* used to get paid an anna per mistake detected at *janch*, over and above his pay. This was meant to guard against the *munsarim* shirking his work and carelessly passing over any bad error. But the system presupposed too few errors and had in consequence to be abandoned. It was replaced by provisions for closer check. The first step towards this was taken in 1894-95 when the *Sarishtadar* was made to check the records again after *janch* with the aid of his assistants. The next and final step was the introduction of *moaina* in 1895-96, when the copied records instead of being entrusted to ordinary comparers were placed in charge of an experienced *munsarim*, who did the comparison along with the comparers in the way described above. So the whole system grew as our experience of the work increased. The regular and detailed system of registers for every department is also a result of gradual but steady attempts at improving all the branches of the work.

359. The *khewats* in Champaran were simple and so one of the principal sources of mistakes in the records was absent. But,

Badars (mistakes).

on the other hand, the villages were very large—a fruitful source of error and endless trouble in *terij* writing. The large size of the villages was especially troublesome when the *terij* area totals did not at once tally with the *khasra*. For a discrepancy of '01 the *muharrir* had to retotal many thousands of plots and numerous *khatians* to find out the error, whereas had the number of plots been small, little difficulty would have been experienced. In *khewats* sometimes the shares of several joint-proprietors or tenure-holders were found to have been improperly worked out, as they did not total up to 16 annas. Then the column for the terms of leases was often found blank and had to be filled up, as the information was specially required in computing costs. This entailed summoning the lease-holder. In *khatians* sometimes the arrangement of records was not found to have been made strictly according to the order of the *khewat*, and not infrequently a *raiya* of a *britdar* was put together with those of the proprietor or the principal tenure-holder of the village. These errors all took time to detect and rectify. Then, again *raiya*s with the same name seem to be more common in Champaran villages than elsewhere, a sure cause of confusion. Similarly, people are often found to have holdings in two villages on only one rent, and the rent was sometimes entered by mistake in both and without any reference to the other holding. All this had to be put right at *janch*. Partition of the interest of joint *raiya*s in annas was also a source of error as in the case of landlords. In the case of non-occupancy *raiya*s, the term for which the holding has been in existence was sometimes found omitted. Then, *tukras* or subdivision of plots also led to error. Sometimes even the name of a village was not found to be the same in all the papers, and *khasra* map and *khatian* had to be brought into agreement. In preparing *terij*s a plot or two would be discovered not extracted from the *khasra* into the

khatian at all. I do not think it will serve any purpose to multiply these instances of error. They diminished as our system of attestation, and the attestation peshkar's check, improved. Indeed, latterly it was very rare to come across an order of the attestation officer improperly carried out or not carried out at all. *Badars* became fewer and fewer as a record progressed through check and *moaina*, and very few errors were found during computation. Most of the important changes in office procedure were introduced after the field season of 1895-96. They came opportunely, as much of the attestation of that year was difficult and complicated.

The next stage was final publication. I have already discussed its difficulties in a preceding paragraph with special reference to the cases filed under section 106. The only point here noticeable is the inconvenience experienced in correcting records, after fair copy, in accordance with decrees passed under this section. The Sarishtadar was specially in charge of this portion of the work with a muharrir under him. These corrections necessitated scoring through existing entries in the records and as refairing was in many cases neither possible nor permissible, the alterations have been allowed to remain in the record duly attested, of course, by the Sarishtadar.

360. After final publication the record was passed on to the Computation department, where costs to be recovered from maliks and raiyats were computed. As the assessment of *maliki* costs was rather complicated, it was done by a staff of muharrirs drawing fixed pay, the *raiya* portion being done by muharrirs at contract costs. Both were checked by a checker who looked after the work of three *maliki* and three *raiya* muharrirs. The record thus for the last time passed through a detailed check eliminating any inaccuracies which had escaped the vigilance of the Sarishtadar's department. A branch of this department paid by contract filled up the printed forms of receipts and counterfoils for the use of the recovery camp, besides preparing a schedule of assesses to accompany the notice served on each village announcing the arrival of the recovery camp and fixing the centre and date of collection from the village concerned.

The *maliki* and *raiya* copies of the record were then made over to the Collection department to be distributed among the paying assesses, and the original, with the Collectorate copy, sent back to the record-room. The importance of the working copy becomes vested in the Collectorate copy from the time of final publication, and the original being of no further use, is destroyed, while the latter is bound and deposited in the Collector's record-room.

The broad outlines of this phase of our work have been given above as far as the space at my disposal permits. I have made no attempt to describe the various registers each department keeps. They were the same as those used in Muzaffarpur, and in the report of that district specimens have been furnished. An examination of them will show that the Assistant Settlement Officer at head-quarters had enough to look after, and the case work that he had to do in addition kept his hands very full.

361. I shall conclude this sketch by a brief description of the records made over to the Collector. They are:—

The settlement records deposited in the Collector's record-room.

- (a) The record-of-rights, including the *khewat*, *khatian* and *terij* and the record-of-right certificate all bound together, village by village, the map being placed in a packet attached to the cover.
- (b) The *khassas*.
- (c) The records of cases and of boundary disputes, those for each village in a bundle by itself. The volumes and bundles are arranged in *mauzawar* order.
- (d) The statistical records in which are brought together, thana by thana, the *milan khassa*, *jinswar* statement, agricultural statistics, the *terij goshwara* and transfer statistics for each village in the thana according to its serial number.
- (e) The village notes, too, as far as available, have been made over to the Collector in *thanawar* order.
- (f) The principal registers of cases, accounts and recovery.

The arrangement was exactly similar to that followed in Muzaffarpur, and is described at length in the report of that district.

362. This perhaps is the most appropriate place for a short reference to what has been done in the way of maintaining the records in the district, though the history of the question generally has been reviewed at length in that dealing with the Muzaffarpur operations. The Land Record Maintenance Act [III (B.C.) of 1895] has so far been introduced in thana Bettia only. In 1894-95, mutation registers were prepared for all the villages finally published, till then, in the thana, and made over to the Collector in July 1895. On the 5th of August 1895, a mutation office was opened at Bettia in charge of the Sub-Registrar. While submitting my annual report for that year in the following October, I observed that it was too early yet to judge of the success the Act was likely to gain here, especially as the landlords had not as yet paid up their dues and consequently had not their copy of the records with them, but I also added "that owing to the predominance of the Raj and indigo factories in the Bettia thana, the circumstances of that area are so peculiar as to render any success which may be met with there in working the Act inapplicable as a criterion for the greater part of the rest of North Bihar." The actual situation, however, began to be realised after the Act had worked for a year. It was found that up to 30th September 1897, 1,916 cases were filed, of which 888 were instituted under section 8 of the Act by transferees, who obtained possession by mortgage, sale or gift, 74 under section 9 by persons claiming by succession, and 1,054 were under section 22 of the Act, where the Sub-Registrar himself took cognizance. The villages for which mutation registers had been prepared, contained 52,036 tenants. The number of applications filed therefore was only 3·8 per cent. of the total number of holdings. Of this, 1·7 per cent. was covered by sales, mortgages or gifts, only 0·1 by succession, while those in which the Sub-Registrar took the initiative came to 2 per cent. I therefore remarked in the annual report of that year, "that the main use to which the Act has been put so far, is to afford additional facilities to money-lenders, or persons of that class, to oust raiyats from their holdings without the landlords' knowledge, and that heirs succeeding to a holding on the death of the former owner do not take the trouble to get their names recorded in the mutation register."

363. Detailed enquiries were made in the succeeding year as to the number of transfers which had actually occurred that were registered, and a special report, in my letter No. 121B., dated 20th May 1898, was submitted on the subject. Thirteen villages, containing 2,778 holdings and 14,425 plots, were selected for enquiry, and in them 874 separate transfers affecting 770 holdings were found to have taken place since the final publication. Of the original area of 4,090 acres, 2,455 acres, or 22 per cent., had been transferred. Of the 2,778 holdings, 230, or 8 per cent., were transferred by succession. Of the total transfers, 26 per cent. were due to this cause, 5 per cent. to sale and mortgage each, 4 per cent. to permanent exchange, and 55 per cent. to abandonment, of which 27 was without resettlement and 28 with resettlement. The enquiries were made just after the last famine, which accounts for the large number of abandonments. Now on comparison of these results with those obtained by the Bettia Mutation office, it was found that out of the 874 alterations, only 75, or 8·5 per cent., had been registered, and of these 75, 70 were by sale and mortgage. Not a single case of resettlement, exchange, or new settlement had been registered, and only one case of abandonment without resettlement, out of 248, had been taken notice of. In succession only 3 cases of 230 were so noted.

364. Turning to the returns of the Mutation office; these enquiries served to confirm the conclusions already arrived at. Applications were filed in 2,362 cases, of which 907 were by mortgage, sale, or gift, 76 by succession, and 1,379, which were taken cognizance of by the Sub-Registrar himself, under section 22. The figures for succession were exceptionally bad. The kanungo found 8 per cent. of successions in the villages under enquiry, and by applying the percentage to the whole area under the Mutation office, that was finally published at the same time with those villages, the total number of transfers under this head should have been 4,160, of which 76 only had found their way into the mutation registers.

365. In view of these results, Mr. Kerr and I concurred in thinking the Act to be not only a total failure here, but worse, for it solely operated to benefit the mahajans, the very last class to require such encouragement.

The following extract from the report fully sets forth my conclusions on the point:—

"In Champaran the population is sparse, and the available land plenty; the landlords are big and all-powerful, their tenants ignorant, apathetic and improvident, who have not been compelled by circumstances to learn the value of tenant right, and who, when they get into difficulties, throw up their land and go elsewhere. Now all cases of abandonment the present system does not touch, because the Act does not lay the landlord under any obligation to register transfer, and agricultural conditions being so unsettled, as I have described, it is obvious that parties can have no very strong inducement to register successions. The only transfers the Act can be said to have dealt with in any way effectively are sales, and in the case of Champaran, I think there is much force in the objection taken by Mr. Kerr that their registration strengthens the hands of the very men whose influence we should seek to diminish, namely, the professional money-lenders. In this respect the positions of Muzaffarpur and Champaran are very different. The money-lender in Muzaffarpur is usually a well-to-do raiyat, resident in the village. The people are very thrifty and fairly intelligent, and set a very high value on their occupancy rights. The landlords are, for the most part, petty, and, although they usually claim that their sanction to transfer by sale is necessary, they advance the claim merely in the hope of getting *salami*. In Champaran, on the other hand, the money-lenders are as a rule non-resident and non-agriculturists. The people, as I have said, are ignorant and thrifless, while the landlords, being big and powerful, have always exercised the right of refusing to acknowledge such transfers, and the Civil Courts have accepted this right as existing. Where land is plentiful and cultivators scarce, it is quite just and proper that landlords should exercise this right, for the cultivators, if impoverished, do not hesitate to leave their estates and go elsewhere to start afresh. In Muzaffarpur I can see no objection to vesting in raiyats the absolute power to transfer their lands by sale. They would obtain a much better price than they do at present, and they can be trusted not to part permanently with their lands if they can possibly avoid doing so, but in Champaran circumstances are very different; there the raiyat requires protection against himself, and the landlord is personally interested in protecting him. In these circumstances, I beg to recommend that the Bettia mutation office be abolished. The selection of Bettia thana as a locality in which to try an experiment of this sort was ill-advised. Subsequently, if the system gain success elsewhere, offices might be opened in the south of the district where agricultural conditions approximate to those prevalent in Tirhut, but Champaran is the last of the North Bihar districts that should be brought within the scope of the present Act."

366. The Board has accepted the conclusions that the influences of the Bettia Registration Office are nothing but harmful, and that it should be closed. The following statement that embodies the figures of the Sub-Registrar's returns up to 31st March 1899, shows no improvement in the situation:—

YEAR.	NUMBER OF MUTATIONS BY—			
	Succession.	Sales.	Gift.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5
1898-99	5	241	9	295

In Muzaffarpur on the other hand, where conditions are different, the Act has met with a fair amount of success, and in the report of that district, my views on the scheme in its general application have been recorded.

CHAPTER II.

STATISTICS.

367. I shall now proceed to discuss the information supplied by the several statistical statements compiled in the course of these operations in greater detail. They are six in number, as follows:—

The prescribed statistical statements.

- (1) *Milan kharra* or abstract of agricultural plots.
- (2) *Jinswar* or crop statement.

- (3) *Fard-hawala* or agricultural stock statement.
- (4) *Terij goshwara* or abstract of agricultural holdings.
- (5) Transfer of occupancy rights.
- (6) Transfer of proprietary rights.

The first three were compiled by the Survey Department, and the last two by Assistant Settlement Officers at the time of attestation, whilst the fourth was abstracted from the *terijes* prepared in the Settlement office during the recess. The *milan khasra* shows the extent of cultivation and the room, if any, for its further expansion, distributes the cultivated area over the three principal harvests of the country, viz., autumn, winter, and spring, and furnishes particulars of the sources of irrigation and the crops irrigated. The crop statement furnishes the details of area under each crop, whilst the *fard-hawala* is a statement of carts and ploughs, bullocks and buffaloes, and other live-stock in possession of the agriculturist. The *goshwara* apportion the district area among the several classes of tenancies, giving the particulars of holdings and rents, both produce and cash. The transfer statements convey an idea of the extent to which land is being alienated, the price paid for it, if sold, or the sum advanced if mortgaged, and what classes are becoming possessed of it. In these statements therefore are condensed statistics of all the main ingredients, comprising what is comprehensively called rural economy.

368. The total area of the district returned by the revenue survey was 3,575 square miles; but as compiled from the Boundary Commissioner's list, it comes to only 3,531 square miles, or 44 square miles less; for administrative purposes it is the latter figure that has hitherto been accepted. Captain Crichton, however, in his survey report for the year 1895-96, points out that the revenue survey area is the closest approximation to the truth. He observes that in addition to the 3,280 square miles returned as surveyed by the Survey Department, there was a small area of six square miles surveyed by the Settlement Department in 1892-93, which brings the total to 3,286 square miles, and if to this is added 290 square miles as the approximate unsurveyed jungle area, the grand total reaches 3,576 square miles, or only a square mile in excess of the revenue survey figure. The only other estimate of the district area which need be referred to here, was what Mr. (now Sir A. P.) MacDonnell adopted as the basis of his calculations in his "Food grain-supply and Famine-relief in Bihar and Bengal" in 1875. It was based on an estimate prepared by the Collector from enquiries made in 12 tappas, and by applying the result of these enquiries to the rest of the district. According to this estimate, the district contained 2,119,325 acres, or 3,312 square miles. Probably the deficiency is due to exclusion of the uninhabited hill and jungle area in the north-west. It will be seen that the district area naturally falls under the three following heads:—

- (a) that surveyed in 1892-93;
- (b) the area dealt with by the present operations;
- (c) the hills and jungle excluded from cadastral survey, but now under topographical survey.

To these may also be added the small urban area of the Motihari Municipality, which, as I have stated above, was excluded from survey during the current operations.

369. The area surveyed in traverse in the course of these operations was 3,298 square miles, of which 3,280 square miles were cadastrally surveyed and *khanapuried*, the difference being accounted for by off-sets from the traverse lines. This report, however, deals with only 3,250 square miles. The discrepancy is due (1) to 11 square miles of *diara* villages in Saran being wrongly surveyed within the limits of Champaran in 1894-95; (2) to the transfer of about 30 square miles lying on the west side of the Gandak to Saran, in which district it had already been included for the purposes of criminal and general magisterial administration; and (3) to the inclusion of the 6 square miles in thana Adapur, settled at the request of the Hardia Factory in 1892-93. There was also some unavoidable discrepancy due to our total

having been arrived at by adding up the figures for every village with the result that the insignificant fractional errors in the areas of individual villages became cumulative. The final report of the Hardia villages was written by Mr. Colvin, and all the several statements have been compiled from their records just in the same way as for the current operations. For these reasons, I have thought it convenient to incorporate their figures also in the statistics of the Adapur thana to which they belong.

370. For the statistical purposes of this report, therefore, the area of the district may be taken to be 3,250 square miles. The correct total, inclusive of jungles and hills, cannot be ascertained until the topographical survey referred to above is concluded. Till then, however, the present figure (3,531) that is officially accepted, need not be revised.

371. In trying to fix with absolute accuracy the area of this district we are confronted by the same difficulties as in Muzaffarpur and Saran, though indeed to a less degree; namely, fluctuation in the course of the river, the deep stream of which has been constituted the district boundary. The Gandak is the natural boundary between this district, on the one hand, and Saran and Gorakhpur on the other. But it is extremely uncertain and capricious in its course. Indeed, at present, there is one whole outpost, Dhanaha, on the Gorakhpur side of the Gandak, but appertaining to thana Bagaha. This is how Mr. Wyatt, who conducted the revenue survey in 1845, expressed himself on the point:—

“From Kesaria upwards, up to the Bootwal Raj, the course of the river is very arbitrary and of such an unsettled character that large portions of land are annually transferred on either side by their being cut away during the rains, when the river suddenly becomes swollen and carries everything before it, destroying boundaries of villages and frequently the sites of those near its banks; hence numerous disputes arose between the landed proprietors ending constantly in civil actions.”

Indeed, some of the most complicated boundary disputes that we have been called upon to decide in Champaran were those between the Hathwa Raj and the Bettia Raj in the Gandak *diara*. But a remedy for this state of things had been provided before the revenue survey was begun. I again quote Mr. Wyatt's report:—

“With a view to putting a stop to such manifest inconvenience, the rule of *Dhar-dhoora* (or division by main stream) has been superseded by the laying down of specific boundary marks by the Civil Superintendent, so that even in the event of these being destroyed, their original sites can be easily ascertained by a reference to the professional survey maps.”

Although, in my opinion, this is the real remedy for the administrative difficulties that arise from a *diara* being apportioned to two districts, according to an ever-shifting main stream, practical effect was not given to it. The boundary of the Champaran district, according to notification, is the deep stream, and hence the Survey and Settlement Departments are compelled to follow it.

372. Champaran is the largest district in North Bihar and second only in the whole Division to Gaya and Shahabad, the districts which, like Champaran, comprise a vast area of hill and jungle. It is bigger than an average district in the Patna Division by over 300 square miles, and than one in Bengal by 200 square miles. It very much exceeds in area an average British county, or, for the matter of that, any county in England or Ireland. I have said elsewhere that Champaran was formerly but a sarkar and a portion of zilla Saran, consisting of four parganas, one of which, Babra, was transferred to Muzaffarpur in 1865. The rest of the sarkar was raised to the status of an independent district in 1866. The Bettia subdivision dates from 1852.

The area of the two subdivisions.

373. The areas of the Bettia and Sadar subdivisions are as follows:—

	Square miles.
Bettia	... 1,720
Sadar	... 1,530
Total	... 3,250
Or an average to each subdivision of	... 1,625

The Bettia subdivision, even without the hill and jungle that fall entirely within it, is the larger of the two. There being only two subdivisions, they are necessarily very large, and exceed the size of an average Bengal subdivision by 50 per cent.

469. The district is divided into nine thanas, three forming the Bettia subdivision and six the Sadar. Their areas are given below:—

THANA.				Square miles.
1.	Bagaha	...	...	619
2.	Shikarpur	...	...	554
3.	Bettia	...	...	547
Total Bettia subdivision				1,720
4.	Adapur.	...	...	224
5.	Dhaka	...	...	335
6.	Motihari	...	...	290
7.	Gobindganj	...	...	286
8.	Kesaria	...	...	273
9.	Madhuban	...	...	122
Total Sadar subdivision				1,530
TOTAL DISTRICT				3,250

It will be noticed that Bagaha and Shikarpur, even without their jungle belts, are the largest in area. An average thana in the Bettia subdivision is more than double that in the Sadar, and more than double the provincial average, and half of an average English county. The Sadar average, however, is only 25 square miles larger than the provincial average, though the district average exceeds it by 125 square miles.

375. The next unit of partition is a village. The district contains 2,846 villages, averaging in area 1.14 square miles each.

This is only a little less than double that of Muzaffarpur. The thana averages range between 1.43 of a square mile in Bagaha and .58 in Madhuban, but strange to say, in Shikarpur an average village is only .82 of a square mile. In all other thanas it is more than a square mile. Indeed, as I have said elsewhere, the large size of the villages is a feature of the district. The following table gives the number of villages measuring 10,000 acres and above, 5,000 and above, 3,000 and above, and 2,000 and above, as also the names of the biggest and the smallest villages in each thana. Bagaha beats all records by presenting us with a village over 40 square miles in area. The next largest village is in Gobindganj, and the third in Motihari:—

NAME OF THANA.		Number of villages of 10,000 acres and above	Number of Villages of 5,000 acres and above	Number of Villages of 3,000 acres and above	Number of villages of 2,000 acres and above	LARGEST VILLAGE IN THE THANA.		SMALLEST VILLAGE IN THE THANA.			REMARKS.	
						Name	Thana number	Area in acres	Name.	Thana number.		Area in acres
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1	Bagaha	1	8	21	32	Senralabedaha	52	27,549	Phulwaria	561	58	
2	Shikarpur	...	...	...	2	Marhin	540	2,060	Bakulla	542	31	
3	Bettia	...	2	13	38	Patpura khas	107	7,384	Bahuarwa	254	11	
4	Adapur	...	...	4	10	Patru	73	4,394	Banpur Siria	47	32	
5	Dhaka	...	3	7	16	Khatari	120	5,868	Thora Sahar	6	7	
6	Motihari	...	3	11	17	Dhokaha	214	8,765	Chitahi	63	26	
7	Gobindganj.	...	4	11	22	Chatra	28	9,067	Sauwal in Ahiraula.	37	4	
8	Kesaria	...	1	4	14	Sondarpur	238	5,886	Lokai Belwabin	92	16	
9	Madhuban	...	...	...	1	Kotha Hari Ram	186	2,463	Totamethanpura	167	6	
Total	...	1	20	71	140							

Bettia and Bagaha count the largest number of big villages, Gobindganj following next, Motihari, Dhaka, Kesaria and Adapur coming after in very close order. But there appears to be an exceptional paucity of them in Shikarpur and Madhuban. Indeed, while Shikarpur accounts for 16 per cent. of the district area, it furnishes no less than 24 per cent. of its villages; but the fact that these villages are so small violates one's pre-conceived theories of the course of agricultural development—theories, the accuracy of which is actually verified

by the large villages in the adjacent and equally backward thanas of this backward district. I should be inclined to attribute this phenomenon partly to the arbitrary action of the Revenue Surveyor in treating *tolas* as revenue survey villages, and partly to the supposition that this area enjoyed in a time long past a period of isolated material prosperity of which history has hitherto furnished no record. In Madhuban, where conditions approximate to those of Muzaffarpur, villages are naturally small.

376. The average size of a holding in the district is 5.19 acres, or more than double that in Muzaffarpur. In Bettia subdivision the average is 6.11, but in Sadar only

The size of holdings.

4.44. The biggest holdings are to be met with in the sparsely populated thanas of Bagaha and Shikarpur; average holdings in the central thanas of Bettia, Adapur and Motihari; while holdings below the average are found in the eastern and southern thanas of Dhaka, Kesaria, Gobindganj and Madhuban. Indeed, we find the biggest holding in Bagaha, the north-western thana, and the smallest in Madhuban, the south-eastern,—clearly emphasising the diversity of agricultural conditions obtaining in the two tracts of which these thanas are typical.

377. Similarly, an average plot in Champaran is .74 of an acre, or about double that of Muzaffarpur. In Bettia it

The size of plots.

more than half an acre (.57). The biggest plot is again found in Bagaha, and the smallest in Madhuban.

Statistical statement of agricultural land units, thana by thana.

378. Below is a statement giving the areas, and number of villages, holdings and plots, with averages of each, thana by thana:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total number of villages.	Number of holdings.	Total number of plots.	Total area in acres.	AVERAGE SIZE.					REMARKS
						Sub-division in square miles.	Thana in square miles.	Village in square miles.	Holdings in acres.	Plot in acres.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Bagaha	431	65,081	298,267	300,272	..	..	1.4	7.12	1.25	
2	Shikarpur	672	51,537	348,141	351,558	..	..	0.8	0.50	1.02	
3	Bettia	307	69,064	440,201	357,173	..	..	1.1	5.00	0.78	
	Subdivisional figures	1,509	185,682	1,087,569	1,008,983	..	57.333	1.2	6.11	1.00	
4	Adapur	200	27,344	250,507	147,491	..	..	1.1	5.24	0.68	
5	Dhaka	240	40,144	368,250	214,528	..	..	1.4	4.37	0.58	
6	Motihari	222	31,609	275,880	185,180	..	..	1.3	5.85	0.67	
7	Gobindganj	300	41,411	332,228	187,087	..	..	1.2	4.11	0.55	
8	Kesaria	253	42,158	330,064	174,842	..	..	1.1	4.13	0.53	
9	Madhuban	211	25,452	165,014	78,296	..	..	0.6	3.07	0.48	
	Sadar subdivisional figures	1,344	230,410	1,715,410	975,846	..	124.83	1.1	4.44	0.67	
	District figures	2,853	416,092	2,802,979	2,004,829	1,025	302.11	1.1	5.19	0.74	

379. Whatever we may fix upon for the purposes of comparison, a plot

• The large dimensions of the land units.

or a holding, a village or a thana, a subdivision or the district itself, everything here is on a larger scale than that found to prevail in the adjacent and sister districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran. The same remark applies, as is shown elsewhere, to the standard of measurement. There is, then, a very clear and strong indication of the fact that the development of the resources of the district has set in from comparatively recent times, and that, except perhaps in a small tract in the south, there is an entire absence of that agricultural pressure which leads to a diminution in the size of all land units from the thana down to the standard of measurement.

CULTIVATED AREA.

380. From the total area, I now turn to an examination of the cultivated area of the district. Out of the total of 2,079,815 acres,

District area cultivated and uncultivated.

1,447,668, or 70 per cent., is cultivated, and 632,147, or 30 per cent., uncultivated. But this takes no account of the excluded hills and jungles, nearly all of which would be classed as uncultivated, thereby considerably increasing the latter area. The hitherto accepted estimate of the cultivated area in the district, as given in the Blue

Book.—“The Agricultural Statistics of British India,” is considerably lower than what our figures disclose. In the year 1896-97, the figure noted against Champaran was 1,300,200 acres, or 144,000 acres below ours. It is curious to see that the estimate of 1892-93 (1,422,000) was nearer to the truth.

The cultivated and uncultivated areas of Champaran and neighbouring districts compared.

381. The comparative figures furnished in the following statement will convey an idea of the position of Champaran by the side of neighbouring districts in the above respects:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THE DIVISION.	Total area.	UNCULTIVATED.		CULTIVATED.		Density of population per square mile.	REMARKS.
			Area.	Percentage to the total.	Area.	Percentage to the total.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Acres.	Acres.		Acres.			
1	Patna	1,832,480	334,960	25	496,500	75	852	From “Agricultural Statistics of British India.” By cadastral survey. From “Agricultural Statistics of British India.” By cadastral survey.
2	Gaya	2,015,080	926,280	31	2,080,400	69	454	
3	Shahabad	2,795,920	1,174,420	40	1,671,100	60	473	
4	Darbhanga	2,184,400	376,710	18	1,747,700	82	840	
5	Muzaffarpur	1,941,254	365,965	20	1,565,291	80	908	
6	Narail	1,006,981	314,431	19	1,382,500	81	980	
7	Champaran	2,079,815	632,147	30	1,447,668	70	527	
	Total	14,906,070	4,098,011	27	10,897,159	73	607	

382. Thus Champaran both in density of population and in the extent of cultivated land takes the fifth place among the seven districts of the Patna Division, Gaya and Shahabad alone being inferior to it, while Patna and the other three North Bihar districts are very much superior. Champaran, Gaya and Shahabad in each respect fall below the divisional average. Although Gaya and Shahabad occupy a less advantageous position than Champaran, I believe there to be more room for agricultural development in the Champaran district. Much of the waste in Gaya and Shahabad is unculturable hill and jungle, much also is occupied by the irrigation system, the very life-blood of their agricultural existence. In Champaran, on the other hand, it is land lying unoccupied, at present poor perhaps but cultivable. Here, too, the subdivisional percentages vary considerably from the district one. In Bettia the cultivated area is only 62·30 per cent., and would be very much less if the jungle tract were taken into account, but in the Sadar it goes up so high as 77·74 per cent., or very nearly to the Muzaffarpur figure. It is in the northern tract that the great field for the extension of cultivation lies.

Degree of cultivation and density of population compared thana by thana.

383. The details of cultivation and density of population, for the thanas of Champaran are furnished in the following statement:—

NAME OF THANA.	Total area.	AREA—				Density per square mile.	REMARKS.
		CULTIVATED.		UNCULTIVATED.			
		Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bagaha	396,272	198,823	50 17	197,449	49 83	304	
Bhikarpur	364,668	2,44,781	69 04	109,777	30 06	274	
Bettia	350,139	2,43,189	69 44	107,000	30 66	622	
Total Bettia Subdivision	1,100,909	686,743	62 38	414,926	37 62	377	
Adapur	143,401	122,193	85 21	21,208	14 79	747	
Dhaka	214,628	177,846	82 90	36,682	17 10	803	
Motihari	186,180	181,337	70 93	63,843	29 08	660	
Gobindganj	182,689	127,063	70 04	64,726	29 96	668	
Kesaria	174,843	188,468	79 30	36,374	20 80	683	
Madhuban	78,206	63,118	80 70	15,088	19 30	849	
Total	2,079,815	1,447,668	69 61	63,247	30 39	627	
Sadar subdivision ..	978,846	760,925	77 74	217,921	22 26	724	

384. It is a matter of common belief that Adapur, noted as it is for the richest soil in the district, is in the highest state of cultivation, and our figures confirm it: 85 per cent. of its area is under tillage. Dhaka and Madhuban,

Thane percentages of cultivation compared.

where agricultural conditions approximate to Tirhut, very fittingly follow with percentages of 83 and 81, respectively. Then comes Kesaria, with 79 per cent. But cultivation is found to gradually diminish in extent as we journey north. In the central thanas of Gobindganj and Motihari, the percentage is 70 and 71, respectively, or slightly above the district average, but in Bettia, which is the next, the percentage comes down to 69 or a little below it. The apparently high percentage of 69 in Shikarpur is, for reasons I need not repeat here, to a considerable extent fictitious, and in Bagaha we reach a point where the area waiting for the plough equals that under it. Mr. Wyatt, the Revenue Surveyor, wrote that in tappas Chingwan Batsara and Manpur Chaudand situated in this thana he found one-third of the land waste and unproductive and in Rajpur Soharia and in Bagaha only one-fourth was under tillage. It is to the credit of this tract that the cultivated area has apparently advanced from one fourth and one-third to half of the total, if reliance can be placed in Mr. Wyatt's estimate, and I think it should, since his tendency was decidedly to over-estimate the extent of cultivation.

385. The relation between the extent of cultivation and density of population is very strikingly illustrated by the figures of this district. In Adapur, Dhaka and Madhuban,

Cultivation of land and density of population.

where the cultivated area is over 80 per cent., the density of population is the highest, about 800 souls per square mile. It is somewhat lower in Kesaria, but considerably so in Motihari, Gobindganj and Bettia, and we have seen that the figures of cultivation follow the same course. In Shikarpur, excluding the jungle area, the density will go up, perfectly justifying what our figures show, whilst Bagaha, where the density is admittedly very low, the cultivation has only kept pace with it.

386. An attempt to review here the progress hitherto made in the reclamation of this district may not be without interest.

Advance of cultivation in Champaran.

Even detailed statistics when derived from any other source than a cadastral survey must be regarded with caution. But in Champaran progress has been so vast that even the opinion of an officer with local knowledge affords a sufficient indication of its extent. When Hinduism was supreme, Champaran, as I have shown, was a forest primeval, unbroken save for the hermitages of those who had laid aside the world. It has been told how in the time of Akbar not even one-twentieth of the district came under the assessment of Todar Mall, clearly indicating that its boundless wastes were still largely unreclaimed. Thereafter there was progress that even the decadence of the Moghal Empire could not stay, and on the 22nd July 1794 the Collector wrote to the Board:—

"Sirkar Champaran is not above one-fourth cultivated. This sirkar has very extensive forests containing every species of trees common in this district" (i.e., zilla Saran). "it abounds with saul, sissu, toons, and I believe it would be utterly impossible to proceed to clear away with any effect to promote advantage or improvement."

387. The cultivated area is now 70 per cent., and I think it can be said without fear of exaggeration, that during the British era the extent of cultivation in the district has certainly doubled and perhaps trebled itself. Mr. Wyatt the Revenue Surveyor, observed 50 years later:—

"The pargana of Majhaun" (which covers the major portion of the district) "at the time of the perpetual settlement was chiefly waste; the northern parts were covered with forest which are now inhabited and under beautiful cultivation."

The era of development presumably set in very soon after the Permanent Settlement, for the Collector, only seven years later, on 29th December 1801, reported that "where 60 bighas in 100 were in cultivation formerly, 80 or more are now in that state." This remark had reference to both the sirkars of Champaran and Saran, but as Saran was already highly cultivated and Champaran was not, it can be taken as a measure of progress in the latter district without risk of error. But from the time of the permanent settlement up to the revenue survey of 1845, the progress of agricultural development

was undoubtedly very rapid. In parganas Mehmi and Semraon, thanas Dhaka, Madhuban and a portion of Kesaria, four-fifths of the area, or 80 per cent., had, according to the Revenue Surveyor, been already brought under cultivation, their present percentages being 83, 81 and 80, respectively. Of pargana Majhaua, as a whole, which he justly describes as immense, he does not hazard any such opinion, but taking it piecemeal and adding the figures for the other parganas, he arrives at a total of 1,716,345 acres under cultivation in the whole district. At least, so it is said in Sir A. P. MacDonnell's "Food-grain Supply," but I have been unable to find the figures in Mr Wyatt's report. In any case, it was obviously an overestimate, as the cadastral survey shows the net cropped area to be 1,447,668 acres only. Possibly Mr. Wyatt's figures include *babra* pargana, and according to Sir A. P. MacDonnell he treated as cultivated all lands not physically uncultivable, such as roads, rivers, tanks, village sites and the like, though, as I have shown in the Muzaffarpur report, this does not appear to have been the case in that district. Again, his estimate was not based on sufficient data, for it was not based on a detailed survey, but whatever the cause may be the fact remains that his estimate must be wrong, for no one in his senses would assert that the cultivation in Majhaua has done otherwise than increase within the last 50 years. The reports furnished by patwaris, at the *thakbast* survey of the area of uncultivated land are probably more reliable, but unfortunately the totals have not been struck.

• 388. The following statement reproduces the information derived from a study of the *thakbast* records of a few villages only:—

The evidence of the *thakbast* record.

Statement showing uncultivated area from *Thakbast* Register and present survey.

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Number of villages examined.	Total area of villages in column 3.	UNCULTIVATED AREA--								REMARKS.
				At thakbast.		At present survey.						
				Area in acres	Percentage to total area.	Culturable		Not available for cultivation.		Total uncultivated area of columns 7 and 9.		
						Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
			Acres.			Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		
1	Bahaha	1	350	114	32.57	50	14.29	9	2.57	59	16.86	
2	Shikarpur	15	7,058	2,554	36.05	1,717	24.34	471	6.68	2,215	31.38	
3	Bettia	13	9,230	1,751	17.62	1,709	17.86	642	6.16	2,411	24.96	
4	Adapur	2	882	19	2.17	50	4.54	74	8.39	114	12.93	
5	Dhaka	1	448	70	15.64	35	10.09	20	4.46	65	14.51	
6	Motihari	5	2,200	136	6.18	400	20.00	136	5.94	506	23.00	
7	Gobindganj	14	10,330	2,156	20.85	1,701	16.47	973	9.08	2,326	22.60	
	Total	51	31,006	7,080	22.81	5,814	18.71	1,975	6.37	7,789	25.12	

389. The figures were abstracted from the *thakbast* records of 51 villages spread over the district, but none were found for thanas Kesaria and Madhuban. Now, either the villages selected are not typical or the system of classification is different, for, according to this statement, thanas Motihari, Gobindganj and Bettia have a larger area uncultivated now than they had in 1845, which is obviously absurd. If the revenue survey included culturable uncultivated land, then it can be said that cultivation has expanded very considerably in the last 50 years. But I quote these figures merely because they appear at least to indicate that extension of cultivation proceeded at a much slower pace after the revenue survey than before it. The figures quoted in Sir A. P. MacDonnell's "Food-grain Supply" afford further confirmation to this statement. Of the total area estimated by him, or rather by the Collector, Mr. Hewitt, 1,437,332 acres, or 67 per cent., was cultivated, and 681,993 acres, or 33 per cent., uncultivated. The present proportions are 70 and 30. Hence the increase of cultivation during the last 30 years would not appear

to be very marked. Mr. Kerr makes the following observations on this point:—

"The Adapur thana was, it is believed, brought under cultivation about the middle of the century, and since then the only extension has been towards the north-west of the Bettia subdivision, an area notoriously unpopular on account of its unhealthiness. Rents in Champaran are still exceedingly low, as compared with the rest of North Bihar, and the pressure of the population on the soil even in the southern part of the district is not yet such as to force the people northwards in search of fresh lands, and at the same time there is practically no immigration from outside the district."

390. In order to elucidate the matter still further, the settlement reports of resumed mahals and old *jumabandis* in the

The evidence of the old Raj
jamabandis and the records of
resumed nahals.

The evidence of the old Raj *jamabandis* and the records of resumed *mahals*, though not so trustworthy, provide data sufficiently accurate as a basis of broad conclusions. To take up the *jamabandis* first. I have divided them into four groups, according to the different periods they fall into. The first group consists of the only three village *jamabandis* for the year 1793 which could be found; the second of 21 during the period 1815 and 1820; the third of 84, up to the year 1850, and the fourth of only seven, up to the year 1870. Of course, they do not differentiate cultivated from uncultivated land, but a comparison of the area held by raiyats at those periods with what they held now will afford a sufficient indication as to how and when cultivation has expanded in the district:—

PERIOD.	Number of villages.	Total area according to survey.	RAIYATI AREA ACCORDING TO—		Percent- age of increase.	REMARKS.
			Raj jama- bandi	Survey.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1st period	3	1,011	80	549	586	
2nd "	21	22,683	6,371	16,260	165	
3rd "	34	28,348	11,188	19,708	77	
4th "	9	8,240	4,739	6,158	30	

Now, as far as these figures go, the raiyati area has risen by 586 per cent. since 1793; by 155 since 1820, but by only 77 since from 1820 to 1850, which is further reduced to 30 during the years 1850 to 1870. These results are amply corroborated by the figures compiled from the resumption registers. I have taken 38 villages, scattered all over the district, portions of which were resumed in 1839-40. The registers furnish details of cultivated, cultivable and uncultivable area of the portion resumed (except rent-free lands excluded), and I have compared their percentages with those of the whole village as at present found, neglecting, of course, the rent-free portions which, occupying as they do less than one per cent. of the total area, can well be ignored.

Period.	NUMBER OF VILLAGES.	TOTAL AREA IN ACRES ACCORDING TO—		CULTIVATED AREA ACCORDING TO—				UNCULTIVATED AREA ACCORDING TO—												REST-FURN AND SERVICE LAND ACCORDING TO RESUMPTION. 1800-60.	
		Resumption.	Survey.	RESUMPTION.		SURVEY.		RESUMPTION						SURVEY							
				Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Culturable		Un-culturable.		Total.	Culturable		Un-culturable		Total.				
								Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.		Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
0-40	10	12,253	24,708	6,340	60%	24,314	89.9	6,124	37%	2,788	16.6	6,207	40.6	7,276	21.2	3,772	4.8	10,654	80.7	97	77

391. In 1839-40 the cultivated area, including current fallow, was 49·7 per cent. of the total, and now it is 69·9, a rise of 20 per cent. only. The whole of tappa Duho-suh, to which I have referred more than once as the zamindari of the Madhuban Babu, was resumed in the same year, and the same details are available for the 63 villages that it consists of. They are summarised in the following statement :—

Period.	NUMBER OF VILLAGES.	TOTAL AREA IN ACRES ACCORDING TO—		CULTIVATED AREA ACCORDING TO—				UNCULTIVATED AREA ACCORDING TO—												REST-JEER AND SERVICE LANDS ACCORDING TO RESUMPTION.		
		Resumption.	Survey.	Resumption.		Survey.		RESUMPTION.						SURVEY.								
				Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Culturable.		Un-culturable.		Total.		Culturable.		Un-culturable.		Total.				
								Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1880-81 ...	63 Tappa Duho-suh.	86,182	86,815	10,127	52·9	30,336	82·3	14,076	38·9	2,767	7·7	16,808	46·6	3,633	9·8	3,866	7·7	6,480	17·5	109	6·46	...

We find that the cultivated area has gone up from 52·9 to 82·3 per cent., and the culturable but uncultivated area has come down from 38·9 to 9·8, the unculturable area remaining practically the same, 7·7 per cent. The rise in cultivation therefore is measurable by 30 per cent. since that year, and considering that this tappa is very fertile and close to the borders of Tirhut, it can be safely inferred that, taking the district as a whole, the progress in reclamation of land, in the latter half of this century, must be indicated by a still lower percentage, perhaps not more than 20 to 25. Thus in Champaran, as in other districts of North Bihar, it was in the first half of the century that agricultural development advanced with extraordinary rapidity. During the latter half it has necessarily proceeded more slowly, but progress none the less has been very considerable.

UNCULTIVATED AREA.

392. The examination of the uncultivated area in Champaran is perhaps more interesting and also more important than that of the cultivated area. The problem for the future in North Bihar, as I have said elsewhere, is how to relieve the great pressure of the population on the soil, and it is to Champaran that one's eyes naturally turn. Here the area not yet brought under cultivation is, as I have said, 632,147 acres, or 20·9 per cent. of the total. In the Sadar it is 22, but in Bettia subdivision, even excluding the uninhabited jungle, it comes to 38. Of this, the area available for cultivation is 123,900, or excluding current fallow, 115,511, that is, 18·5 per cent. I have excluded current fallow, because it is more a part of the cultivated than of the uncultivated area.

393. Adding current fallow to the cultivated area, and working out the percentage on the sum, we find 3 per cent. of the cultivated area is given rest in this district, against a little over 1 per cent. in Muzaffarpur. In the Sadar subdivision the percentage is 2, but in Bettia it is 4, suggesting that some land is left fallow more because the cultivators have a surplusage than because it requires rest.

394. The area available for cultivation is, as I have said above, 18 per cent. on the whole. In the Bettia subdivision it is much larger, viz., 24 per cent., but in the Sadar it is only 12, that is, just slightly above Muzaffarpur (10 per cent.), but though in the south of the district there may not be much room for extending cultivation, there is, I think, scope for improving the quality of that which exists, and for rendering it more remunerative.

395. I have already suggested that Champaran affords a better field for the expansion of agriculture than the south Gangetic districts of Gaya and Shahabad. Though the uncultivated area in Gaya is 31 per cent., as against 30 per cent. in Champaran, yet

the cultivable area in Champaran is 18 per cent., as against 5 per cent in Gaya. Champaran is thus far superior in natural advantages except, indeed, climate.

396. Allowing for the relative unfertility of the cultivable area, I should say there is still room for the district to augment its population by 12 per cent. or, say, 2 lakhs of souls, without causing the least inconvenience to its present inhabitants, but to attract the surplus population to North Champaran, the northern part of which is liable to famine owing to a precarious rainfall and is still very unhealthy, requires special measures on the part of the administration, measures which, I believe, are on a fair road to fulfilment. The Tribeni Canal, if constructed, will place a very large area in the northern tract in a position secure from calamities of season. The country requires opening out, and the contemplated railways from Bettia to Bagaha, and from Bairagnia to the same place, *via* Ramnagar, if constructed, are sure to give agricultural development a most marked impetus. Finally the Bettia and Ramnagar estates should adopt liberal rules for the settlement of waste.

397. Passing on to the thana statistics, we find Bagaha, heading the list with a percentage of 33 for culturable area, and 14

Thana statistics.

unfit for cultivation. The current fallow is also very considerable, viz., 3 per cent. As expected, Shikarpur comes next with 21, 8 and 2 per cent. respectively, with Bettia following close behind. The percentage for cultivable area, however, is below the district average in Bettia, though it is higher than in any of the remaining thanas, bringing out into clear relief that it is Bagaha and Shikarpur where the large mass of land available for cultivation is to be found. Among the Sadar thanas, the two closest to the Bettia subdivision, and also central, viz., Motihari and Gobindganj, show the largest percentages in the subdivision, both under the heads of cultivable and uncultivable areas. The high percentage of current fallow in Motihari is, perhaps, partly accounted for by the lightness of soil in its upland. The cultivable area, however, narrows as we travel southwards and also eastwards. In Kesaria it is only 10·3 against 8·4 per cent. not fit for the plough; in Dhaka it goes still lower to 9 per cent., dwindling down to 8·7 in Madhubani. It is noticeable that the current fallow in these two thanas contracts to the Muzaffarpur average of a little over 1 per cent. of the cultivated area. But it is in Adapur that the narrowest limits of all have been reached. All the richest soil here has been brought under cultivation, leaving only a small cultivable area of 7·2 per cent., against 6·9 not fit for cultivation, and there appears to be little room here for expansion. Only 7 per cent. of the area is current fallow, but the soil is so rich that it requires no rest. The thana figures discussed above are subjoined in a tabular form below :—

STATEMENT I.

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	TOTAL AREA.		AREA CULTIVATED.		AREA UNCULTIVATED.		DETAILS OF UNCULTIVATED AREA.						REMARKS.
		Acres.	Square miles.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Current fallow.		Culturable area other than current fallow.		Area not available for cultivation.		
								Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	Bagaha	200,772	619	100,923	50·2	107,640	49·8	11,000	5·5	131,250	65·1	56,051	27·9	
2	Shikarpur	214,120	614	244,731	60·6	144,777	31·1	6,002	1·0	74,207	31·0	10,516	4·1	
3	Bettia	250,180	647	240,130	60·4	107,000	26·0	18,084	3·6	80,022	17·3	53,004	9·4	
	Subdivisional figures	1,100,900	1,730	648,743	62·6	414,236	37·6	30,086	2·4	308,348	24·8	117,593	11·0	
4	Adapur	165,071	234	150,100	31·2	31,204	15·8	1,132	0·7	10,206	7·2	9,078	5·9	
5	Dhaka	214,120	614	177,546	38·9	36,082	17·1	2,774	1·3	10,977	5·0	14,477	6·8	
6	Motihari	183,180	504	181,507	70·9	61,443	29·1	6,215	3·4	30,002	16·7	16,740	9·0	
7	Gobindganj	103,050	294	137,913	70·9	64,789	30·9	3,000	2·9	30,746	14·5	20,006	11·5	
8	Kesaria	174,040	273	128,000	79·3	20,374	30·5	3,613	2·1	10,000	14·3	14,750	8·5	
9	Madhubani	70,300	132	66,118	60·7	15,060	19·3	1,030	1·4	6,904	8·7	7,504	9·3	
	Subdivisional figures	970,540	1,330	700,926	77·7	217,921	24·3	18,000	1·9	114,211	11·8	64,021	6·6	
	District figures	2,070,815	2,330	1,467,000	69·8	631,167	30·6	69,074	2·4	301,750	14·3	201,316	9·7	

398. I now proceed to examine in detail the nature of the area available for cultivation, and begin by bringing the figures for each thana together in the following statement:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area in acres.	CULTIVABLE AREA OTHER THAN CURRENT FALLOW.									
			OLD FALLOW.		MANGO GROVES.		CULTIVABLE JUNGLES.		OTHER KINDS.		TOTAL.	
			Acres.	Percentage total area.	Acres.	Percentage total area.	Acres.	Percentage total area.	Acres.	Percentage total area.	Acres.	Percentage total area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Bagaha	396,373	79,819	20.1	4,357	1.1	3,609	0.7	44,464	11.2	131,839	33.1
2	Shikarpur	351,556	54,631	15.4	6,171	1.7	11,840	3.3	1,616	0.5	74,307	20.9
3	Bettia	350,130	36,746	10.5	9,858	2.8	9,134	2.6	4,364	1.4	60,062	17.3
4	Adapur	143,401	6,975	4.8	3,156	2.2	579	0.4	589	0.4	10,299	7.2
5	Dhaka	214,523	10,362	4.8	7,343	3.4	711	0.3	1,001	0.5	19,367	9.0
6	Motihari	185,190	23,696	12.8	5,074	2.7	1,219	0.7	903	0.5	30,692	16.7
7	Gobindganj	152,649	20,461	13.2	6,400	3.6	577	0.3	2,621	1.4	30,145	19.5
8	Kesaria	174,842	10,760	6.1	5,028	2.9	360	0.2	1,846	1.0	18,005	10.3
9	Madhuban	78,306	3,804	4.9	2,157	2.8	314	0.4	489	0.6	6,024	7.7
	Total	2,079,815	246,264	11.8	49,669	2.4	27,461	1.3	58,435	2.8	361,729	18.3

399. It will be noticed that old fallow covers 12 per cent. Much of it is utilised as grazing ground for cattle. It has been said in the chapter on population that the most numerous of all castes in the district is the *goala*, and there is plenty of land for the pasturage of cattle, of which they keep large numbers. The old fallow area is largest in Bagaha and Shikarpur, viz., 20 and 15 respectively, and to this tract *goalas* migrate in large numbers with their cattle every winter. Among the Sadar thanas, Motihari and Gobindganj show the highest percentages, viz., 13 and 11 respectively, but in Dhaka, Madhuban and Adapur, it falls to between 4 and 5 per cent. Kesaria, as was to be expected from its intermediate position, intervenes with a percentage of 6.

400. The item next in importance is mango groves. The district percentage is 2.4, against 3.7 of Muzaffarpur. The mango topes are of course not so numerous as in Muzaffarpur, but their number is very considerable in the Sadar thanas. In Bagaha and Shikarpur the percentage is little more than half the district average. Thana Bettia occupies an exceptional position, as it returns a greater percentage (2.8) than the district average. The Maharajas of Bettia have always evinced a keen interest in the planting of mango trees, which, according to the Hindu creed, is an act of religious merit, and their example has been freely followed by their servants and tenantry. Among the thanas in the Motihari subdivision, Adapur, the northernmost, has a percentage of mango groves lower than the average, but in all the rest it is higher, remarkably so in Dhaka and Gobindganj. Indeed, it is the abundance of these mango groves in Gobindganj which explains the keenness of the Turkaulia concern for

the record of its rights in trees. This concern had to pay a very handsome sum to the Raj for the purchase of those rights.

The other kinds of the cultivable area need no comment beyond this, that *diera* lands are probably responsible for the high percentage in thanas Bagaha.

AREA UNFIT FOR CULTIVATION.

401. I now come to the details of the area not fit for cultivation. In a district with a long riparian border, and with a network of streams, rivulets and lakes spread all over its surface, water is bound to account for the largest area of this class, and in Champaran, which completely answers to this description, the area under water is 4·6 per cent. of the total area, or 50 per cent. of that not available for tillage. The two thanas of Bagaha and Gobindganj are skirted for the entire length of one side by the Gandak, and it is but right that they should come out with the heaviest percentages under water, viz., 7 and 5·5 respectively. The Little Gandak, on the other hand, mainly traverses the thanas Shikarpur, Bettia, Motihari and Madhuban, increasing in width as it flows southwards. Consequently in Madhuban, where it is the widest, the water area is 5 per cent., and in Motihari and Bettia the percentage is a little less, viz., 4·7 and 4·8 respectively, the small portion of the Big Gandak in these thanas being supplemented by the area covered with lakes and rivulets. In Shikarpur, which is intersected by innumerable streamlets, running from the hills, the percentage is 4·5. Dhaka and Adapur, unaffected by any big river, return an area under water considerably below the average, whilst Kesaria owes its intermediate position to the fact that the Big Gandak runs along a portion of its western boundary.

402. The only other noticeable item of this class is house-sites. The area returned under this head is 19,934 acres, and dividing it by the total number of houses furnished by the census, the average size of a house in the district comes to only ·066 of an acre, that is, 319 square yards, or, say, 18 linear yards each way, as against ·061 of an acre, or 295 square yards, in Muzaffarpur. In the Bettia subdivision the average is still higher, ·072, but in the Sadar it is ·062, or about the Muzaffarpur figure. There are 15 houses and 93 persons per acre of village site in the district, against 16 and 97 respectively of Muzaffarpur, the figures for Bettia subdivision being 13 and 79 respectively. The smallest and most crowded houses are found in Madhuban, Dhaka, Adapur and Kesaria. All of these thanas are in the south and east of the Sadar subdivision, close to Muzaffarpur, except Adapur, which, for reasons given above, is as advanced, both in point of cultivation and population, as a Tirhut thana. The Motihari figure is liable to modification, owing to the houses in the urban area, which though excluded from the operations, are included in these figures. The biggest houses with the smallest number of occupants are to be met with in all the thanas of the Bettia subdivision. But the fact that the houses in the north are bigger than in the south does not argue a superior degree of prosperity. The houses in the north, though they cover a large area, are as a rule less substantially built, and more squalid than those in the south. But taking the district as a whole, that the houses are the worst in Bihar, cannot be gainsaid. Pandit Ramaballabh Misra remarks:—

“It is a matter of common notoriety that people in Bihar devote the first available surplus that they can afford, after meeting the expenses of marriage and other ceremonies, to the improvement of their houses, and nothing is considered to be a better index of a man's prosperity than the kind of accommodation he contents himself with. Indeed a Bihar raiyat, in selecting a bridegroom for his daughter, permits himself to be influenced in his choice, to not an ordinary extent, by the appearance the house of the latter presents.”

This no doubt is true of Champaran as of the rest of Bihar. No people in this province are more badly housed than the Champaran people, and that their standard of comfort and prosperity is low, would from this fact alone be a just inference.

403. The details of the area unfit for cultivation, thana by thana, will be found in the following statement:—

Number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area in acres.	AREA NOT AVAILABLE FOR CULTIVATION.								Total number of houses.	Average size of a house in square yards.	Number of persons per house.	Number of persons per acre.	Number of houses per acre.	REMARKS.
			HOUSE SITES.		WATER.		OTHER KINDS.		TOTAL.							
			Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.	Acres.	Percentage to total area.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
				A. D.		A. D.		A. D.		A. D.			A. D.			
1	Bazaha	306,272	2,710	0.7	25,006	6.3	27,323	7.0	55,081	14.0	36,098	344	5.6	73	16	
2	Bhikarpur	364,568	2,007	0.7	15,868	4.3	10,043	2.8	25,518	6.9	37,429	354	5.6	81	14	
3	Bettia	350,130	4,290	1.2	16,672	4.8	12,708	3.6	33,094	9.6	56,306	364	5.9	73	13	
	Subdivisional figures.	1,100,920	9,577	0.9	57,548	5.3	50,168	4.6	117,823	10.7	131,823	348	5.7	79	13	
4	Adampur	143,401	1,589	1.1	4,113	2.9	4,176	2.9	9,878	6.9	26,049	200	6.7	111	16	
5	Dhaka	214,528	2,353	1.1	6,523	3.2	5,371	2.5	14,547	6.8	36,784	308	7.3	115	15	
6	Motihari	185,180	1,972	1.0	8,743	4.7	6,134	3.3	16,789	9.0	29,419	305	6.4	101	15	
7	Gobindganj	182,080	1,801	1.0	9,023	4.9	9,978	5.5	30,890	11.4	35,795	379	6.7	98	14	
8	Kearla	174,946	1,808	1.0	4,711	2.7	5,237	2.9	14,706	8.4	29,857	340	6.1	101	16	
9	Madhuban	78,300	814	1.1	3,833	4.9	2,528	3.2	7,905	9.2	16,820	242	6.8	130	20	
	Subdivisional figures.	976,946	10,357	1.1	37,246	3.8	30,415	3.7	84,021	8.6	165,736	340	6.6	106	16	
	District figures ...	2,070,815	19,934	1.0	94,794	4.6	80,586	4.1	201,314	9.7	297,559	319	6.3	98	15	

THE HARVESTS.

404. The harvests in Champaran, as elsewhere in Bihar, are three, viz., *bhadai* (autumn), *aghani* (winter), and *rabi* (spring).
Harvests and crops in Champaran. The chief crops of each harvest are as follows:—

Harvest.	Crops.
Bhadai ...	Rice, makai, marua, sama, kodo, janera (masuria), urid, china, indigo, hemp, flax, &c., &c.
Aghani ...	Rice, alua, janera (aghanwa), and sugarcane.
Rabi ...	Wheat, barley, oats, arhar, khesari, gram, peas, potatoes, masuri, jackerao, linseed, cotton, mustard, poppy, tobacco, &c., &c.

The extent and percentage of net cropped area appropriated to each harvest, the area twice cropped, the total net cropped area, and the percentage of it that is irrigated are as follows:—

BHADAI.		AGHANI.		RABI.		TWICE CROPPED.		Net cropped area.	Irrigated percentage.
Area.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage of net cropped area.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.	
664,437	46	655,879	38	790,422	55	573,670	20	1,447,606	2

*405. The most noticeable points with regard to these figures is the very large area under *bhadai* (46 per cent.), the somewhat small area under *aghani* (38 per cent.), the large area under *rabi*, and the large area twice cropped.

The relative importance of the three harvests. Champaran compared with neighbouring districts

These percentages, at first sight, might encourage the supposition that Champaran is a great *rabi*-producing area like the south part of Tirhut bordering on the Ganges. But this is far from the truth. Much of the *rabi* area is covered with gram, *khesari* and other cheap crops, such as only the poorest will eat. It will therefore be necessary to examine the figures in further detail in order to arrive at a just idea of the district's agricultural

resources; but before doing so, a comparison of the figures already furnished with those returned by some neighbouring districts may not be without interest:—

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Total area in acres for which statistics were prepared.	NET CROPPED AREA.		BHADAI.		AGHANI.		RABI.		TWICE CROPPED.		IRRIGATED.		REMARKS.
			Area in acres.	Percentage of total area.	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Champanan	3,079,815	1,447,098	70	654,437	45	556,279	34	740,620	55	672,470	40	87,830	5	
2	Muzaffarpur	1,941,354	1,532,391	79	804,068	54	747,018	48	130,033	10	723,048	46	34,838	2	
3	Gaya	872,516	346,784	40	15,348	4	134,252	34	180,321	51	43,187	11	187,034	16	
4	North Monghyr	50,180	54,410	80	8,938	17	8,031	23	12,339	51	4,913	10		3	

406. Gaya is largely a one-cropped district, and for its one crop depends mainly on artificial irrigation. The conditions of North Monghyr and Muzaffarpur are probably more similar than these figures would show. The North Monghyr statistics are for the Narhan estate only. The *bhadai* area in Champaran is very much greater than in Muzaffarpur, while the *aghani* area is smaller. Yet a local observer would say, without hesitation, that Champaran is more distinctively a rice-growing district than Muzaffarpur. The explanation is that Champaran, being much exposed to inundation, grows much of its paddy as an autumn crop, and this accounts for the large area devoted to this harvest. The area under *rabi* and twice cropped is considerably less in Champaran than in Muzaffarpur, and at the same time it is less remunerative.

407. For the Champaran district taken alone the statistics of the relative importance of the three harvests and of irrigation are, *thana by thana*, as follows:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area in acres.	NET CROPPED AREA.		BHADAI.		AGHANI.		RABI.		TWICE CROPPED.		IRRIGATED AREA.		REMARKS.
			Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Begula	376,272	198,425	50	86,010	43	76,102	38	106,620	54	69,108	35	7,008	4	
2	Shikharpur	374,354	244,781	65	81,461	34	121,545	50	181,408	54	14,771	70	11,944	5	
3	Bettia	850,139	343,130	40	130,621	38	94,072	30	174,748	51	59,512	20	692	1	
	Total Bettia Subdivision	1,100,949	785,743	62	291,092	41	266,667	43	362,776	53	129,391	38	18,928	3	
4	Adapur	148,461	121,183	82	15,397	12	4,423	40	78,624	64	70,341	87	1,076	4	
5	Dhaka	314,529	177,664	57	90,309	40	64,772	36	113,420	64	83,215	48	2,942	2	
6	Motibari	188,190	181,587	96	62,718	44	33,817	25	43,040	53	47,802	48	1,044	1	
7	Gohindganj	182,093	127,065	70	67,196	53	45,811	34	68,090	50	44,124	35	37	...	
8	Kamaria	174,843	136,496	78	60,410	44	10,453	30	80,812	44	34,308	24	...	...
9	Madhuban	78,396	64,118	81	34,627	40	23,798	27	37,914	60	23,549	37	...	...
	Total Sadar Subdivision	978,946	760,925	78	275,346	40	203,482	36	436,947	57	32,990	41	9,001	1	
	GRAND TOTAL	3,079,815	1,447,098	70	654,437	46	556,279	34	740,620	55	672,470	40	87,830	2	

408. The differences in the percentages of the two subdivisions are noticeable. Bettia has 42 per cent. under *bhadai*, the Sadar 49 per cent. Under winter crops, Bettia has 43 per cent., while the Sadar has only 35 per cent.; but under *rabi*, on the other hand, the Sadar has 57 per cent., against Bettia's 53 per cent., and the twice-cropped area in the Sadar is consequently greater than in Bettia. The irrigated area in Bettia subdivision is nearly 3 per cent., as against only 1 per cent. in the Sadar. The *aghani* harvest consists mainly, of course, of winter rice. It follows, then, that winter rice is a more predominating crop in the Bettia than in the Sadar subdivision. A similar distinction has been noticed between the northern half and the southern half of Muzaffarpur; but there is this difference, that while, in South Muzaffarpur, the large *bhadai* area

is occupied largely by maize, &c., valuable crops themselves, which form the first crops to the better class of *rabi* crops, in South Champaran the predominating *bhadai* area is largely covered with autumn rice, the second crop to which is often of an inferior class. Thus, to gain a clear idea of their respective resourcefulness in the face of adverse seasons, it will be necessary to compare the relative rice areas of the two districts irrespective of harvests.

409. A glance at the detailed thana statement will show that Adapur, with 54 per cent., and Gobindganj, with 52 per cent. of net cropped area under *bhadai*, show a very marked predominance of autumn crops.

The thanas compared.
Autumn harvest.

Adapur's chief autumn crop is early rice. Gobindganj has considerable upland, and at the same time land subject to inundation early in the season. Bettia, which also contains considerable upland, comes next. Then Dhaka, with 49 per cent. under *bhadai*, consisting mainly of early rice on the portion of it bordering on Adapur. It is noticeable that the *bhadai* area is only 40 per cent. of the net cropped area in Madhuban, whereas it is 43 per cent. in Bagaha. Madhuban, bordering on Tirhut, has little land exposed to early inundation, while the southern portion of Bagaha contains much *diara* where *bhadai* crops are grown. In the northern half of Bagaha, there are practically no autumn crops, and its conditions approximate to those of Shikarpur, which returns only 35 per cent. under this head.

410. Turning to the proportion of net cropped area under *aghani*, we find the above position largely reversed. Shikarpur heads the list with 50 per cent., and that Adapur

Winter harvest.

does not end it, shows how remarkably fertile that thana is. On the contrary we find Adapur, in spite of its large *bhadai* area follows Shikarpur with 40 per cent., or 2 per cent. above the district average, under *aghani*. With reference to the contrast between the agricultural conditions in Shikarpur and Adapur, Mr. Kerr writes:—"The importance of this contrast lies in the fact that it is well known that Shikarpur is the area in the district most liable to famine, while Adapur is always the least affected. Shikarpur, with its dependence on the *aghani* harvest, feels at once the least failure of rainfall, and has no *rabi* crops of any value to look forward to to help it to tide through the year following a short *aghani* harvest; whereas, in Adapur, the rich *bhadai* crop is reaped at the beginning of September, so that, even if the *hathiya* rains fail, it is no great matter while there is always the prospect of a good *rabi* crop on the high *bhadai* land later on. In the recent famine, Shikarpur was the thana first and most severely affected, and relief had to be continued there long after it had been closed in other parts. Adapur, on the other hand, was only comparatively slightly affected, so far as the cultivators were concerned, and in many parts of it very little relief had to be given." After Adapur, Bettia and Bagaha return the largest percentage. The Bettia subdivision is considerably larger than the Sadar subdivision, and its three thanas, if we ignore Adapur, contain the highest percentage under *aghani*, indicating the extent to which the northern half of this district is dependent on its rice crop. Adapur, too, belongs to the same physical division. In Dhaka, Kesaria and Madhuban the proportion of area under *aghani* is much the same, viz., about 36 per cent., and Gobindganj, with 2 per cent. less, has the smallest area but one, under *aghani*, having been shown to have the largest area but one under *bhadai*. Motihari thana, with only 25 per cent. of its net cropped area covered by *aghani* crops, closes the list. Gobindganj has a large area under winter rice in the *chaurs* near Areraj. Motihari is almost entirely upland.

411. Conclusions deducible from the relative proportion of area under *rabi*, are largely discounted by the fact that *rabi* of a kind is usually grown on winter rice land, but it

Spring harvest.

is of a very poor kind. No man in his senses would grow wheat in a field from which he has cropped paddy. In short, it is the quality of the *rabi* grown, not its quantity, that has to be considered. Nevertheless the Sadar subdivision, in which alone are valuable *rabi* crops cultivated to any extent, returns a larger percentage of area under them than the Bettia subdivision. Needless to say, Adapur, with so large a percentage of area under *bhadai* and *aghani*, heads the list with 64 per cent. of its area under *rabi*, and so much as 57 per cent. of

its area twice cropped. This extraordinarily fertile tract has been reclaimed quite within modern times. Dhaka and Motihari come next with 1 per cent. less under *rabi*, and Madhuban fourth, with 60 per cent. of its net cropped area so occupied. That the three thanas of the Bettia subdivision should return a larger area under *rabi* than Gobindganj and Kesaria, confirms what I have said that mere quantity is little index of the wealth derivable from this harvest, and the same remark necessarily applies to the proportion of net cropped area which is returned as twice cropped.

412. On the subject of irrigation a few remarks are required. It is so little practised that it is unimportant. No area at all was returned for Kesaria as under irrigation.

Irrigation.

Since the field survey is done in the cold weather, there is always a danger of the irrigated area, except in tracts that are essentially *rabi*-growing, being understated. There is no doubt some irrigated area in Kesaria, and probably more in Madhuban and Gobindganj than has been stated, but it can be taken as certain that the area is in reality very trifling. Over $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is returned as irrigated in Shikarpur, and over $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Bagaha. Both these thanas are irrigated by damming the numerous hill-streams that intersect them, and I expect much more could be done in this respect were the people more self-reliant and intelligent, and the landowners more alive to their common interests. In Shikarpur there is a small canal, constructed from the Pandei river by the Sathi factory, but mainly for its own use. Adapur returns 4 per cent. under irrigation. Here, again, there are not only hill-streams, but also the only Government canal in the district—the Tiar canal—yet a thorough system of irrigation is lacking. Babu Hem Chander Chatterjee, Assistant Settlement Officer, who worked in the thana observed:—

“With numerous rivers in the tract, the fields could have been, with little expense irrigated, but the people are very apathetic towards irrigation. They do not take the least care in irrigating fields other than those reserved for poppy cultivation.”

THE CROPS.

413. *Food crops.*—The crops are of two main classes—food crops and non-food crops. So much as 24 per cent. of the net cropped area bears non-food crops. Sir A. P. MacDonnell, in his food-grain supply, estimated the proportion at 8 per cent. only. Among the food crops, rice of course occupies the most prominent position. It is grown on 782,661 acres, or 54 per cent. of the area under cultivation.

Rice.

The way in which it is used as food is too well known to need repetition. As boiled *bhat*, fried *murhi* and parched *chura* it is taken here as everywhere else, and for the worship of the gods, rice, as *akshata*, is indispensable. The Tharus, however, still use it largely for barter also. Rice is almost the only crop they grow, and, as they are without currency, it is customary in *Tharu-hat* to see rice given in exchange for fish and vegetables; and through ignorance of its money value, the value given is generally very excessive. Slowly, however, they are learning to appreciate the advantages of cash. The Tharus also use rice for making an intoxicating liquor, which is largely drunk on the occasion of marriages and other joyous ceremonies. The number of varieties of paddy grown here, as in the rest of North Bihar, is legion.

414. The next largest percentage is returned by food-grains of minor importance, clubbed together in one column as “Other food-grains including pulses,” but excluding rice, wheat, barley, *marua*, *makai* and gram. Most noticeable among them is the *khesari*, often grown as second crop to rice. *Kodo* comes next in the group, accounting alone for no less than 7 per cent. of the net cropped area. It is eaten here, as in Gaya, as boiled *bhat*; but in Champaran it is also often ground to flour and made into bread. *Arhar*, which is also used as *dal*, is another important crop in this group. How important, only those who saw it during the famine year of 1897, a flourishing crop, when all others were parched and dying, can fully appreciate. It does not require irrigation, but is benefited by showers of rain in the cold weather.

China is another variety which attracted a good deal of attention the late famine, owing to its being the crop, above all others, which can be raised in the shortest time, namely, six weeks. Its grain is fried and then eaten, under the name of *marha*. It is much used both by the rich and the poor. In marriage and *sradh* ceremonies especially, *marha*, mixed with curds, is served out to the servants, *palki*-bearers and other followers.

Sawa also deserves a passing notice. It is cleaned, boiled and eaten as rice. Sometimes it is boiled in milk, and a little sugar being added, forms one of the daintiest dishes of the poor. When so prepared it is called *khir*. The other minor crops of this group, viz., peas, oats, *masuri*, *keoni*, *kurthi*, are mainly grown along with other crops for the subsistence of the poor. They are grown to a small extent only.

415. The single crop most extensively grown after rice is barley. It covers nearly 15 per cent. of the net cropped area.

Barley. It is very generally consumed, and is taken either as fried *bhanja*, or bread, or as flour (*satu*), mixed with water and a little salt. Barley *satu* is much appreciated even by those natives of Bihar who can afford more expensive food. After barley comes *makai* (maize or Indian-corn), covering 8.28 per cent. of the

Maize. area under cultivation. It is very extensively grown in the south, as I shall show hereafter, but its rareness in the north has kept down the district average. *Makai* is in the south of the district one of the chief staple food-crops of the poor, and even those who can afford three meals usually take it in some form or other. It is used fried for breakfast, boiled as *bhat* for dinner, and as bread for supper. It keeps the raiyat going usually for at least four months in the year. When still only half ripe, it is rubbed with oil and lemon, sprinkled with salt and pepper, and after being slightly fried, is eaten by the well-to-do with much relish.

416. Wheat covers 7.27 of the net cropped area. It is the most valuable of all *rabi* food-crops. So highly is it esteemed,

Wheat, gram, *marua*, &c.

that it is called "*Devanna*," or the food of the gods. The poor agriculturist, however, grows it only for sale, as he cannot afford to consume it. Gram covers $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only of the cultivated area. It is used as *satu*, and also as fodder (*dana*) for horses. It is often eaten when still unripe, and its leaves are used as a *sag*. As *dāl* it is prominent on ceremonial occasions, and as flour (*besan*) it is largely used in Indian cookery. The area under *marua* in this district (1.20 per cent.) is small; so, too, is that under yams and potatoes (1.67 per cent.) *Alua* and *suthni* are grown mainly on the banks of the Sikrahna river in the south of the district, and are eaten chiefly by the poor.

417. *Non-food crops*.—Coming now to non-food crops, indigo accounts for 6.63 per cent. of the area under cultivation. It

Indigo and oil-seeds.

will be discussed in a separate chapter. It is closely followed by oil-seeds (6.49), a chief source of income to the agriculturists of the district, and of a brisk export trade. The other single non food crop of great importance and value is opium, occupying 3.7 per cent.

Opium.

of the net cropped area. Wheat among food crops; and opium among non-food, are the two great rivals of indigo, and I shall discuss, in speaking of indigo, their relative advantages and disadvantages from the raiyats' point of view.

418. *Miscellaneous non-food crops*—All other non food crops for which separate returns have been prepared are each below 1 per cent., but among them sugar is the most prominent, with a percentage of .77. It is largely grown in only one thana, Bigaha, where its cultivation has been found to be a profitable undertaking. Fibres, garden produce and tobacco are all of small importance in this district.

Of the miscellaneous non-food crops that account for 6.12 per cent. of the

Thatching-grass

area under cultivation, *kharaul*, or thatching grass, is of course by far the most important, particularly in the northern thanas, for it grows naturally on land left continuously fallow for some years, and in those thanas much of the land has not hitherto even been reclaimed. In point of fact, too, thatching grass is more valuable to the cultivator than inferior crops requiring more trouble to raise,

419. The percentages referred to in the above sketch of the relative extent of the important food and non-food crops in this district are here brought together for convenience of reference:—

Tabulated scale of percentages of food and non-food crops.

Food crops.

Name of crop.	Percentage to net cropped area.
Rice	54.06
Barley	14.79
Maize	8.28
Kodo	7.75
Wheat	7.27
Gram	2.57
Root crops	1.67
Marua	1.20
Others	17.07
Total	114.66

Non-food crops.

Indigo	6.63
Oil-seeds	6.49
Kharaul	4.06
Opium	3.71
Sugar	0.77
Fibres	0.48
Tobacco	0.17
Others, including other dyes	1.80
Total	24.90

GRAND TOTAL 139.56

Deduct twice cropped 39.56

Total 100.

420. Thus it is seen that this district produces a very large variety of crops, most of which, except indigo, appear to have been cultivated in the earlier years of the century.

The crops in 1847.

The Revenue Surveyor writing in the middle of the century gave the following enumeration:—

"The harvests are *bhadai*, *kharif* (*aghami*) and *rabi*, and the principal crops are paddy of various qualities, wheat, barley, poppy, indigo, *arhar*, *maarkh*, maize, vetches and peas, oil-seeds and a variety of edible crops. The staples are, however, rice, poppy and indigo."

421. The following statement shows the relative extent of the important food crops in the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Ballia, Gaya and Monghyr, as compiled from cadastral records:—

Food crops.

Number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Total area.	RICE.		WHEAT.		BARLEY.		MARUA.		MAKAI.		GRAM.	
			Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
		Acres.	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.	
1	Champaran	2,070,816	782,631	54.1	105,295	7.3	214,090	14.8	17,386	1.2	119,848	8.3	27,161	2.0
2	Muzaffarpur	1,981,254	767,795	49.1	69,720	4.2	306,690	19.1	82,450	5.3	163,750	10.5	45,828	2.9
3	Gorakhpur	2,331,951	978,042	49.2	211,211	10.6	238,907	12.0	46,908	2.8	104,071	5.2	145,778	7.4
4	Azamgarh	1,370,288	332,181	21.1	35,467	4.1	165,397	20.8	81,188	8.8	21,080	2.7	44,004	4.6
5	Ballia	788,802	124,000	23.0	23,213	4.6	68,681	17.0	9,944	1.0	44,504	8.6	63,236	12.2
6	Gaya	372,808	120,652	39.0	20,157	8.2	11,297	4.3	4,842	2.0	5,679	1.5	30,528	12.2
7	North Monghyr	30,369	6,130	25.1	629	2.6	2,470	10.2	2,600	10.6	1,540	6.8	1,366	5.9

Number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	OTHER FOOD-GRAINS, INCLUDING PULSES.		MISCELLANEOUS FOOD, & p. TAMAS AND TOTALS.		TOTAL FOOD CROPS.		TOTAL NON-FOOD CROPS.		Total cropped area.	TWICE CROPPED.		NET CROPPED AREA.	
		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to total cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to total cropped area.		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to total area of district.
		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.	Acres.		Acres.	
1	Champaran	359,328	24.8	24,192	1.7	1,050,850	83.2	360,470	17.8	2,024,334	672,070	39.0	1,447,068	69.6
2	Muzaffarpur	614,404	31.1	77,768	5.0	2,016,517	88.5	261,300	11.5	3,278,313	723,082	40.5	1,555,231	50.1
3	Gorakhpur	687,080	20.5	7,517	0.4	2,370,590	84.8	301,936	11.4	2,639,480	660,081	37.4	1,979,399	57.8
4	Azamgarh	354,402	31.3	640	0.1	882,205	87.6	123,324	12.4	1,007,629	190,185	24.0	808,338	58.7
5	Ballia	242,303	16.7	882	0.2	596,312	91.1	55,962	8.0	652,274	133,019	23.6	519,255	62.6
6	Gaya	80,703	39.7	460	0.2	274,248	90.8	27,018	9.2	290,561	53,127	21.8	240,744	66.6
7	North Monghyr	7,169	20.0	1,682	0.6	21,304	79.5	5,920	20.5	29,328	4,913	20.1	24,415	80.4

422. The most noticeable feature of this statement is that Champaran shows much the smallest proportion of its area under food crops. Monghyr is an exception, but the Monghyr figures are for a very limited area in which there is much indigo. When the whole area of Monghyr north of the Ganges is surveyed, it will probably furnish results very similar to those of Muzaffarpur. Among food crops, again, the enormous area in Champaran under rice is most noticeable. With 54 per cent. under this crop, its percentage is nearly 5 above that of the next districts, Muzaffarpur, Gorakhpur and Gaya. It is 13 per cent. greater than the rice area in Azamgarh and nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of Ballia.

423. With so large an area under rice, the areas under other crops must necessarily suffer a reduction. Thus the proportion of cultivated area under "Other food-grains, including pulses," under *marua* and under gram are smaller in Champaran than elsewhere, but in respect of barley, *makai* and wheat this district will hold its own. In the extent of its area under barley it is inferior to Azamgarh, Muzaffarpur and Ballia, but ahead of the other five districts. In wheat it comes third after Gorakhpur and Gaya, and in *makai* it beats all the districts except Muzaffarpur only, where the maize area is 2 per cent. greater.

424. But the most prominent feature of these statistics still remains the vast extent of the Champaran rice area. Mr. D. J. Macpherson, in his famine report, 1897, wrote as follows:—

"In this connection I may remark that the area under rice in the Champaran district alone is nearly one tenth of the total rice area of the 49 districts forming the North-Western

Provinces and Oudh. Even in districts nearest Bihar, where rice is most important, that crop occupies only 36 per cent of the food-crop area, and in the rest of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh only 19 per cent. The gravity of a failure of the rice crop in Champaran is sufficiently apparent from these remarks."

Extent of non-food crops in Champaran and neighbouring districts compared.

425. Comparative statistics in respect of the area under non-food crops are furnished below:—

Non-food crops.

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Total area of the district.	NET CROPPED AREA.		OIL-SEEDS.		SUGAR.		DYER.			
									INDIGO.		OTHERS.	
			Area.	Percentage to district area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Champaran	2,079,815	1,447,608	70	93,258	6.5	11,168	0.8	95,070	0.6	1,706	1.9
2	Muzaffarpur	1,041,354	1,555,201	86	54,801	3.6	8,768	0.6	87,258	0.8	250	0.1
3	Gorakhpur	2,031,051	1,008,118	64	187,003	7.9	70,502	3.9	10,125	0.8	7,672	0.3
4	Azamgarh	1,37,000	89,231	50	2,833	0.4	10,817	0.5	39,291	4.0	25	0.01
5	Ballia	788,802	519,255	66	1,307	0.3	39,071	7.5	472	0.1		
6	Gaya	572,404	240,734	70	15,430	0.2	5,031	2.0	1		0	0.0
7	North Monrohyr	30,330	24,410	80	473	1.9	54	0.2	2,324	0.9		

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	OPIMUM.		TOBACCO.		FIBRE.		GARDEN PRODUCE AND ORCHARDS OTHER THAN MANGO GROVES.		OTHERS.		TOTAL.	
		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Net food cropped area.	Percentage to net cropped area.
		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1	Champaran	23,504	8.7	2,458	0.17	6,087	0.48	2,287	0.4	45,024	0.1	360,170	28
2	Muzaffarpur	17,179	0.8	17,482	1.12	6,302	4.4	8,325	0.6	65,905	4.2	551,560	17
3	Gorakhpur	15,555	0.8	268	0.01	1,041	0.21	40,773	0.7	10,047	0.6	501,346	15
4	Azamgarh	6,480	0.8	620	0.05	660	0.04	5,776	0.6	1,287	0.3	122,328	1.0
5	Ballia	4,866	0.9	319	0.06	1,307	0.27	7,691	1.5	630	0.2	55,902	1.1
6	Gaya	6,003	2.6	1		213	0.04	672	0.4	34	0.01	27,613	1.1
7	North Monrohyr	1		536	2.20	134	0.54	121	0.5	2,254	9.1	5,020	2.0

426. As a set-off to the effects of famine in this district the large area under non-food crops must be considered, especially as it indicates what we know to be a fact, viz., that the pressure of population on the soil is light. With 6.6 per cent. of its cropped area under indigo, Champaran is one per cent. ahead of even Muzaffarpur. With respect to oil seeds, again, Champaran takes a foremost place, being second only to Gorakhpur, and with a percentage nearly double that of Muzaffarpur. Indeed, there is a very brisk export trade in oil-seeds from Champaran. In opium Champaran is head of the list with 3.7 per cent., being one per cent. greater even than Gaya; Muzaffarpur, Gorakhpur, Ballia, and Azamgarh all have less than one per cent. under this crop. Champaran, on the other hand, is the country where the opium crop is cultivated with the least care, and consequently gives a small outturn. There is little tobacco here, though more than in the North-Western Provinces districts, but in respect of sugarcane it is far behind them. Indeed, the extent of sugarcane in Muzaffarpur and Champaran is very insignificant.

427. Returning once more to the district figures, I shall discuss them thana by thana and subdivision by subdivision. Thana statistics of food-crops. A statement of the areas and percentages of the important food crops thana by thana is subjoined:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area in acres.	RICE.				WHEAT.		BARLEY.		MAIZE.		MILK.		MAIZE.	
			Bhadai.		Aghani.		Total.									
			Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	Hagaha ...	306,373	41,903	81	70,323	35	111,326	56	10,776	8	21,801	13	1,406	0.7	27,306	1
2	Shikarpur ...	261,558	73,181	30	121,569	50	191,710	80	12,645	5	14,168	6	1,807	0.3	5,168	1
3	Bettia ...	350,130	29,677	12	82,030	30	118,007	40	23,734	10	30,036	12	4,827	1.9	21,907	1
	Subdivisional figures	1,100,069	148,711	21	281,122	41	421,833	61	54,979	8	68,000	10	7,043	1.1	46,443	1
4	Adapur ...	143,401	54,790	45	48,349	40	103,139	81	6,407	8	24,109	20	2,374	1.9	1,420	1
5	Dhaka ...	211,578	30,061	21	82,383	35	108,453	55	8,988	6	37,072	21	4,482	2.3	9,599	1
6	Mothari ...	186,180	16,111	12	31,105	24	46,216	35	9,003	7	32,867	23	827	0.8	12,568	1
7	Gobindganj ...	189,080	8,444	3	41,504	3	45,311	35	10,098	9	20,166	16	883	0.7	18,793	1
8	Keonra ...	171,842	1,079	1	43,121	31	43,109	31	12,162	9	18,087	13	1,017	0.7	20,477	1
9	Madhuban ...	78,246	2,065	3	18,218	29	20,363	32	3,634	6	11,719	10	816	0.4	5,906	1
	Sadar Subdivisional total.	978,946	112,969	15	244,908	32	397,829	47	61,148	7	145,106	19	9,588	1.3	71,430	1
	District total ...	2,079,615	280,071	18	525,900	39	782,161	64	115,265	7	214,090	18	17,345	1.2	119,803	1

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	GRAM.		KOTO.		OTHER FOOD CROPS, INCLUDING PULSES.		MISCELLANEOUS FOODS AND YAMS AND POTATOES.		TOTAL FOOD CROPS.		TOTAL NON-FOOD CROPS.		TWO-CROPPED.		NET CROPPED AREA.			
		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to total cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to total cropped area.	Total cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to the district total area.	
		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
1	Hagaha ...	2,874	1.3	15,017	8	32,481	16	844	0.4	221,923	84	40,738	17.0	268,731	69,908	35	199,823	59	
2	Shikarpur ...	13,571	6.5	4,077	1	34,638	14	973	0.4	28,779	84	17,793	16.4	335,559	94,771	30	244,781	62	
3	Bettia ...	1,419	1.8	17,131	7	44,548	18	3,989	1.6	270,022	80	65,419	20.0	338,441	95,308	28	243,133	60	
4	Subdivisional figures	20,864	3.0	35,225	16	111,667	16	3,809	0.8	7,774	82	168,950	18.0	146,725	259,981	38	696,748	61	
5	Adapur ...	6,684	4.7	15,112	2	24,780	20	1,291	0.2	170,218	86	22,216	12.0	192,434	10,341	57	121,193	61	
6	Dhaka ...	7,853	4.4	15,113	11	28,044	30	1,630	0.7	290,192	83	41,848	17.0	332,040	85,915	48	177,945	53	
7	Mothari ...	4,164	1.6	14,754	10	28,045	17	2,339	1.2	112,104	80	36,096	30.0	178,304	67,086	36	101,217	71	
8	Gobindganj ...	129	0.1	20,494	16	16,869	13	2,102	1.7	135,810	74	39,959	22.0	177,637	46,194	26	121,443	70	
9	Keonra ...	380	0.3	19,034	14	18,057	13	6,740	4.9	140,914	79	30,762	21.0	177,678	39,208	22	128,470	73	
10	Madhuban ...	129	0.2	6,211	8	16,928	27	6,192	3.2	71,860	83	14,707	17.0	86,637	23,530	27	63,107	81	
11	Sadar Subdivisional total.	16,297	2.1	76,918	10	135,303	18	18,345	2.4	894,046	85	191,529	18.0	1,075,614	315,989	41	799,625	78	
12	District total	37,161	2.6	112,903	8	347,025	17	34,102	1.7	1,486,859	82	360,479	18.0	2,139,388	573,616	40	1,447,662	79	

428. There is little difference between the proportions covered with non-food crops in the two subdivisions. Indigo and opium, the most prominent non-food crops, are grown mainly in the Sadar subdivision, but it will be seen later that this is counteracted by the larger proportion of area in the north under oil-seeds and thatching grass. But among the food-crops, with which we are now concerned, the percentage of area under rice in Bettia subdivision is found to be 62 per cent., while in the Sadar it is only 49 per cent., though among thanas it is Adapur that takes the lead with the magnificent return of 84 per cent. of its net cropped area under rice. Physically this thana, as has been said, is on the north side of the Sikrahna, and assimilates in character to the thanas of the Bettia subdivision. After Adapur comes Shikarpur with nearly 80 per cent. under rice,

then Bagaha with 56 per cent., and next Dhaka, which is similar in some respects to Adapur, with one per cent. less.

429. It is undoubtedly a defect in the present form of crop statement, from the point of view of practical administration, that columns are not provided for the separate entry of autumn and winter rice. In Champaran, when the statistics were compiled, the two kinds were amalgamated, but an attempt has been made to divide them. The *aghani* area is mainly winter rice. Deducting the area of the other *aghani* crops as far as is known (for some of the more unimportant fall under miscellaneous heads) from the total *aghani* area, we are left with the area of winter rice, which, on being deducted from the total area under rice, gives the area under autumn rice. This process gives results that are fairly accurate and of great interest.

430. Adapur returns 45 per cent. of its cultivated area as *bhadai* rice and 40 per cent. only as *aghani*. Shikarpur returns the next largest percentage under *bhadai*, viz., 30 per cent., but its *aghani* area is 50 per cent. Dhaka and Bagaha return about 20 per cent. under *bhadai* each and 35 per cent. under *aghani*. In Bettia, the percentages are 12 and 36. In the southern thanas, the percentage under *bhadai* rice is inconsiderable. Thus, in the first five thanas corresponding with what is the essentially rice-growing tract in this district, over one-third of the rice is autumn rice, an important fact which, I venture to think, is often not fully realised. As we go from west to east in this tract, we find *aghani* rice less and less in favour.

431. Barley, which is a valuable *rabi* crop, grown as a second crop to *bhadai*, covers 19 per cent. of the cultivated area in the Sadar subdivision, as against only 10 per cent. in the Bettia subdivision. This might have been expected; also that Motihari with so small an area under rice would be the individual thana with the largest area under barley (25 per cent.). Dhaka and Adapur with their large *bhadai* areas come second and third on the list, with 21 and 20 per cent., respectively, then follow Madhuban, Gobindganj, and Kesaria. The last-named returns 13 per cent. only but even so, a higher percentage than any of the three Bettia thanas. Shikarpur has less than 8 per cent. under barley.

432. *Makai*, the next in extent, is of course grown most largely in the Sadar subdivision, and here Kesaria heads the list with 14.8 per cent., followed by Gobindganj (14.7 per cent.) and Madhuban (13.6 per cent.). In Shikarpur and Adapur, the thanas with so large an area under autumn rice, the area under maize is quite insignificant. It is higher in Dhaka (5.4 per cent.). Motihari, with less than 10 per cent., returns a remarkably small area under this crop, but it grows a good amount of *kodo*. Bagaha returns, for it, a large area under maize (11 per cent.). It is grown in the villages bordering on the *diara*.

433. *Kodo* follows *makai* with a percentage of 8. The proportion in the Sadar subdivision, as in the case of barley, is nearly double that in the Bettia subdivision, and it is found mainly in the thanas where maize also predominates. Gobindganj comes first with 16 per cent., then Kesaria with nearly 14 per cent., and Motihari third with 11 per cent. Madhuban and Dhaka return about the same proportion (8 per cent.), and then come Bagaha and Bettia, one per cent. lower. In Adapur and Shikarpur the area under this crop also is insignificant.

434. Wheat is usually grown on lands in the vicinity of rivers or from which the paddy has been washed away by flood. This may account for the unexpectedly large proportion of it, nearly 8 per cent., in Shikarpur. Wheat requires special land and good cultivation, and is grown for sale and hence not very wide variations in its extent in the different thanas are apparent. Bettia heads the list with nearly 10 per cent.

435. Gram is not a crop of much importance, and its growth is mainly confined to the three thanas Adapur, Dhaka, and Shikarpur, where it is sown broadcast as a second crop to paddy.

436. Under the hotch-potch heading "Other food-grains including pulses," all kinds of minor crops are entered, irrespective of the harvest, and the only remark I have to make

is that considering how largely *khesari* which is included in this group, is usually grown as a second crop to paddy, the percentage is low, but it has to be remembered that one third of the rice area bears autumn and not winter rice.

Thana statistics of non-food crops.

437. The following is a statement of the area and percentage of the cultivated area under non-food crops thana by thana:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	OIL-SEEDS.		SUGAR.		DYES.				OTHERS.	
		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	INDIGO.		OTHERS.		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.
						Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Bangsha ...	18,331	0·2	5,434	2·7	2,403	1·3	30	0·0	2,333	1·1
2	Shikarpur ...	23,402	10·6	1,801	0·7	1,816	0·8	74	0·0	2,950	1·2
3	Bettia ...	12,200	5·4	2,780	1·0	16,964	0·6	1,139	0·5	8,005	3·5
	Subdivisional figures	57,432	8·4	9,015	1·4	30,212	2·0	1,303	0·3	13,317	2·0
4	Adapur ...	7,412	6·1	2	0·0	3,257	2·7	33	0·0	7,755	6·4
5	Dhaka ...	7,055	4·0	223	0·1	17,702	10·0	147	0·1	10,490	6·3
6	Motihari ...	6,874	5·2	148	0·1	13,751	10·3	96	0·1	6,722	5·1
7	Gobindganj ...	6,764	5·3	524	0·4	16,197	11·9	106	0·1	8,311	6·5
8	Kesaria ...	6,165	3·7	652	0·4	10,361	14·0	127	0·1	4,686	3·6
9	Madhuban ...	3,250	5·2	58	0·1	6,470	10·3	14	0·0	1,040	1·7
	Sadar subdivisional figures	56,520	4·8	1,540	0·2	76,758	10·0	402	0·1	30,777	6·2
	District figures	93,052	6·5	11,155	0·8	95,970	6·6	1,793	0·1	53,594	3·7

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	TOBACCO.		FIBRES.		KHARAFI.		OTHERS.		TOTAL NON-FOOD.		REMARKS.
		Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	Area.	Percentage to net cropped area.	
		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1	Baraha	66	0·03	1,147	0·6	14,453	7·3	9,612	1·3	44,739	21	
2	Shikarpur	306	0·13	350	0·1	16,310	0·9	3,035	1·5	33,793	22	
3	Bettia	1,614	0·68	3,058	1·0	10,819	4·5	11,587	4·8	68,419	28	
	Subdivisional figures	2,020	0·30	4,505	0·7	43,192	6·1	17,904	2·6	168,050	26	
4	Adapur	6	0·00	102	0·1	2,598	2·1	1,018	0·8	22,316	16	
5	Dhaka	79	0·04	307	0·2	5,653	3·2	1,557	0·8	43,770	25	
6	Motihari	115	0·09	474	0·4	5,027	3·6	2,830	2·2	30,006	27	
7	Gobindganj	65	0·04	910	0·7	4,719	3·7	1,654	1·3	39,869	30	
8	Kesaria	85	0·06	928	0·8	4,060	3·4	1,420	1·0	36,762	27	
9	Madhuban	105	0·17	172	0·3	2,584	4·1	984	1·6	14,707	23	
	Sadar subdivisional figures	445	0·06	2,442	0·3	23,267	3·3	9,208	1·2	141,829	26	
	District figures	2,403	0·17	6,057	0·5	67,329	4·7	37,132	1·9	300,479	26	

438. Indigo is of course the most extensively grown of all non-food crops and returns the very high figure of 10 per cent., or more in all the Sadar thanas except Adapur. So

much as 14 per cent. of the cultivated area in Kesaria thana is occupied with indigo. Here the Rajpur and Pipra concerns are situated. In Gobindganj, where the Turkaulia concern is dominant, 12 per cent. is under indigo. For the large area under indigo in Motihari and Dhaka, 10½ and 10 per cent. respectively, the Motihari factory is responsible, while in Madhuban, which also returns over 10 per cent., the Bara, Tetaria and Motipur concerns predominate. Bettia returns 6·5 per cent. under indigo, and contains several minor concerns,

e.g., Laheria, Parua, Lal Saraya, Kuria and Mallahia. In Adapur and Shikarpur there are also indigo concerns, but they deal largely in paddy.

439. I have explained above why oilseeds are grown more extensively in Bettia subdivision. Thus, in Shikarpur the highest percentage is reached (10·5 per cent). Indeed, the

Oilseeds.

Revenue Surveyor, in enumerating the crops of Raj Ramnagar which is included in this thana, prominently mentions the oilseeds, though he omits it while speaking of the other portion of pargana Majhaua. Bagaha, with 9 per cent., and Adapur, with 6 per cent., as might be expected, come next. The extent is lowest in Kesaria. There is nothing noticeable in the figures for other thanas.

440. The area under *kharaul* or thatching grass is 4·7 per cent. of the cultivated area for the whole district. Its largest extent is of course in Bagaha and Shikarpur; in the

Thatching grass.

former it is slightly over, and in the latter slightly under, 7 per cent. In the other thanas it varies from 2 to 4 per cent. Even in the most highly cultivated thanas cultivators contrive to keep some land in *kharaul* to provide thatching grass for their own use. That grown in the north of the district is largely exported to Bettia.

441. Opium comes next. The district percentage is 3·7, but it is largely

Opium.

exceeded in Adapur, Dhaka, Gobindganj and Motihari, where the crop is artificially irrigated from wells. Bettia and Kesaria only reach the district average, while in Bagaha, Shikarpur and Madhuban it is much below it. The percentage of area under opium is two and-a-half times greater in the Sadar than in the Bettia subdivision.

442. All the remaining non-food crops return percentages below 1 except sugar, which in Bagaha covers 2·73 per cent. of the cultivated area. The Revenue Surveyor wrote in

Sugarcane.

respect of its growth in this area:—

“The central portion of these two tappas” (Manpur Chaudand and Chengwan Batsara), “however, is under a high state of cultivation and is densely populated. In these parts sugarcane is grown in great abundance, and may be considered the staple production of this part of the country.”

443. Sugar-refining appears to be still a prosperous industry in the Bettia subdivision. The Collector, in his Administration

The sugar industry in Champaran.

Report of 1884-85, made the following observation on the subject:—

“The manufacture of sugar is confined to certain localities in the Bettia subdivision The sugar industry is in a flourishing condition in the district. The area under sugarcane increases every year, and the crop is becoming more and more of importance.”

His ideas as to its importance were, however, somewhat exaggerated, for he estimated that the area under sugarcane was 17,500 to 20,000 acres, which would yield 65,000 maunds of sugar, valued at 6½ lakhs of rupees. The actual area in this subdivision under sugarcane is only 9,615 acres, or half his estimate, the quantity in the Sadar subdivision being insignificant. That this was an exaggerated estimate was no doubt realised, and five years later we find the Collector had gone to the other extreme. In the Administration Report for 1891-92 he estimated the outturn at 2,500 maunds only. So, taking three maunds per acre as the lowest possible outturn, the area under sugarcane would have been less than 900 acres, or one-tenth of the real extent. Mr. D. J. Macpherson, in his Administration Report for 1895-96, drew attention to this under-estimate, and put the outturn down as at least 15,000 maunds. This, however, was not more than half the real figure.

444. Tobacco returns the largest percentage (68) in Bettia thana. It is grown here, as elsewhere in the district, for local consumption, and is not exported.

Tobacco.

AGRICULTURAL STOCK.

445. From the agricultural stock statement the supply of milch-kine, draught-cattle, horses, donkeys, ploughs and carts

Amount of live-stock largely dependent on available grazing.

can be ascertained, but the figures in themselves afford little index of agricultural prosperity. The whole position depends mainly on the extent of grazing. Ploughs being very

- cheap, if a cultivator has a sufficient number of bullocks, he will indulge in the luxury of an extra plough, and the number of his bullocks will vary largely with the amount of available grazing, though of course the consistency of the soil is another important consideration. Conversely, too, where grazing is abundant, communications are usually poor, and there draught-cattle and carts are greatly in requisition, and there also it is found profitable to breed live-stock for sale. Live-stock is most abundant when the conditions prevalent are still pastoral.

446. The number of live-stock, ploughs and carts are given thana by thana in the following statement:—

Serial number	NAME OF THANA	Total area in square miles	Cows	Bulls and bullocks	Male buffaloes	Cow-buffaloes	Horses and ponies	Cattle, including buffalo calves	Sheep	Goats	Mules and donkeys	Total number of cattle of all sorts	Ploughs	Carts	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Bugaha	810	70,636	40,107	3,790	10,870	2,890	20,156	4,181	11,853	1,417	171,778	16,660	8,051	
2	Bhikarpur	554	77,128	58,927	3,622	14,830	2,812	2,636	8,503	18,318	1,290	205,316	21,984	4,118	
3	Bettia	517	69,785	69,068	4,712	18,315	3,732	5,103	7,158	38,685	1,088	102,778	23,742	1,100	
	Subdivisional Total	1,780	2,78,811	164,064	11,204	43,024	9,324	50,895	15,112	68,856	3,824	580,970	62,586	8,269	
4	Adampur	284	10,505	20,130	1,111	8,453	1,306	5,504	941	17,530	710	79,089	10,816	1,808	
5	Dhaka	340	18,402	29,501	1,321	10,477	2,094	6,941	1,772	24,450	887	94,714	10,064	2,143	
6	Motiburi	230	2,788	16,411	819	5,321	1,914	811	8,081	11,904	805	51,064	4,984	454	
7	Gobindganj	250	16,307	10,371	1,731	7,722	1,174	2,000	3,159	14,605	421	62,065	5,358	4,386	
8	Kasuria	333	15,908	2,470	431	7,514	1,754	5,108	2,011	17,826	718	73,050	6,602	1,911	
9	Mudhuban	122	8,531	10,748	473	3,048	707	3,154	160	8,204	246	36,574	3,418	630	
	Sadar Divisional Total	1,740	88,901	1,82,412	6,042	40,133	9,847	25,384	11,502	94,274	3,387	390,166	40,826	11,069	
	District Total	1,120	2,95,712	281,476	17,246	83,157	19,171	76,279	26,614	1,58,144	7,211	991,136	103,412	19,388	

447. Comparing these figures with the amount of population, we arrive at the satisfactory result that there are more than three head of cattle per family, or more than one per two persons, against 1.75 and 1 head to three persons respectively of Muzaffarpur, and, as might be expected from what has been said, it is found that there are six lakhs of cattle in Bettia, against four lakhs in the Sadar. Cows, numerically speaking, head the list with 295,672, immediately followed by bulls and bullocks, 282,336 in number, cow-buffaloes and calves coming next, though at a distance, with 83,757 and 76,279, respectively. There is a large number of goats, viz., 158,144. They are used mainly for food. There are comparatively few male buffaloes. The soil on the whole being light, their extra strength is not required to draw the plough. There are no mules in the district, and donkeys are kept only by dhobis. Thus their number is inconsiderable.

448. The number of ploughs is large, viz., 103,412; wood being cheap, their cost is inconsiderable. Bullock carts are numerous, 19,268 in all, or nearly four times the number for Muzaffarpur. The most obvious reason is that the Bettia subdivision contains only about 15 miles of the Tirhut State Railway. There is a large export trade both from Nipal and locally, and there is a large import trade into Nipal, all of which has to be carried on by bullock carts. The large number of carts in the Sadar subdivision is due to a considerable extent to the indigo industry. For the carriage of indigo the raiyats are bound by a peculiar kind of contract which will be described in the appropriate chapter.

Live-stock to population compared.

449. In the following statement the number of cattle per 100 head of the population is worked out thana by thana :—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Area in square miles.	POPULATION.		NUMBER OF CATTLE PER 100 HEAD OF POPULATION.								REMARKS.
			Total.	Number per square mile.	Cows.	Cow-buffaloes.	Sheep.	Goats.	Bulls and bullocks.	Horses and ponies.	Cattle of all sorts including milk buffaloes, milchies, and denaries.	Number of calves per 100 cows and cow-buffaloes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Bagaha	619	216,064	349	23	5	170	5	21	173	20	23	
2	Shikarpur	654	300,784	370	37	7	177	9	24	172	24	24	
3	Bettia	647	334,097	611	18	5	222	10	14	171	34	7	
	Subdivisional figures	1,720	750,966	442	29	6	179	8	22	172	76	20	
4	Adapur	224	107,410	747	10	6	6	10	16	171	47	23	
5	Dhaka	356	839,710	905	7	3	7	9	11	8	35	25	
6	Motihari	300	100,307	651	7	3	171	6	9	7	27	6	
7	Gobindganj	246	170,040	626	9	3	178	5	9	16	35	13	
8	Kemaria	273	1,35,673	673	9	4	14	10	11	170	40	21	
9	Madhuban	122	109,642	898	8	3	70	8	9	7	34	26	
	Sadar Divisional figures	1,770	1,39,650	710	8	4	171	7	11	8	30	20	
	District figures	3,250	1,832,616	872	16	6	176	9	15	170	62	20	

450. The proportion of milch-kine (cows and cow-buffaloes) per 100 souls is only 11 in the Sadar against 33 in the Bettia

Milch kine.

subdivision. In the Bettia thana the number is

lowest for the northern subdivision, but even so is nearly double that for any thana in the southern subdivision. Milch-kine are particularly numerous in Bagaha and Shikarpur, where grazing has to be provided not only for local cattle But also for large herds driven over from Gorakhpur and Saran. In the Sadar thanas there are 12 milch-kine per 100 persons, that is to say, more than one to supply milk and ghee to ten persons. This is a little better than in Muzaffarpur. But if the Bettia subdivision is included, then there is one cow or cow-buffalo to every five persons.

451. Sheep, too, are more numerous in the north, while goats, on the other hand, are very fairly distributed over the whole

Sheep and goats.

district, the only kind of live-stock of numerical

importance of which this can be said.

452. Passing on to draught-cattle, here against 10½ head per 100 persons in the Sadar, 21½ head, i.e., about double is returned

Draught-cattle.

for Bettia. The cause, as I have said, is the

plentiful grazing and large cart traffic in the north. Bettia is the thana returning the lowest number of the three northern thanas, viz., 18; but the only Sadar thana approaching this is Adapur with 16. Adapur is the most cultivated thana in the district, and this high figure, therefore, is in this instance an undoubted indication of agricultural prosperity. Dhaka, also another rich area, returns nearly 11 draught-cattle per 100 persons. Motihari and Madhuban come last with 9.

453. The statistics of agricultural stock in its strictest sense will now be considered, and information of the number of bullocks, ploughs and carts returned by Muzaffarpur, Gorakhpur and Gaya are compared with the Champaran figures:—

Stock, purely agricultural, of Champaran and other districts compared.

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Total.	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.				BULLS AND BULLOCKS.		PLOUGHS.		CARTS.		LIVE-STOCK OF ALL SORTS.		REMARKS.	
			Cultivated.		Uncultivated.		Total number.	Number per square mile of cultivated area.	Total number.	Number per square mile of cultivated area.	Total number.	Number per square mile of cultivated area.	Total.	Number per 100 persons of population.		
			Total in square miles.	Percentage of total area.	Total in square miles.	Percentage of total area.										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	Champaran	3,250	2,253	69.63	567	30.37	1,850,404	2,82,336	125	163,412	46	19,268	8	666,136	62	
2	Muzaffarpur	3,073	2,120	80.11	695	19.89	2,712,887	2,42,093	29	55,147	31	5,613	2	810,950	30	
3	Gorakhpur	4,021	2,905	67.2	674	32.18	2,901,667	5,86,488	118	270,378	87	24,360	7	1,71,804	54	
4	Gaya	389	21	60.66	118	30.34		6,694	149	12,960	48	62	0.02			* Figures not available.

454. The figures of Champaran and Gorakhpur are approximate. The number of cattle of all sorts per 100 persons is 52 in Champaran, against 56 in Gorakhpur, Muzaffarpur coming a bad third with only 30. The same conditions are noticeable in respect of draught-cattle; Champaran has 125 per cultivated square mile and Gorakhpur 118, against 99 only in Muzaffarpur, but here Gaya heads the list with 149. In the matter of carts per square mile Gorakhpur and Champaran are again very similarly circumstanced, but with four times the number found in Muzaffarpur, where the average is only 2. In the number of ploughs per square mile while Muzaffarpur returns 35 and Champaran 46, Gorakhpur returns so high a figure, viz., 87, that I doubt its accuracy. Gaya returns 18 only, and both in this district and Champaran draught-cattle are more numerous than in Gorakhpur. Gaya has the largest number of bullocks per plough, viz., three. Then comes Muzaffarpur with 2.8, closely followed by Champaran with 2.7; Gorakhpur returns only 2.1 per plough, an exceedingly low and abnormal number.

The thana statistics for stock purely agricultural.

455. Confining our attention to the Champaran district, the thana statistics are as follows:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.					BULLS AND BULLOCKS.		PLOUGHS.		CARTS.		NUMBER OF BULLS AND BULLOCKS.			REMARKS.
		Total.	Cultivated.		Uncultivated.	Total.	Per square mile of cultivated area.	Total.	Per square mile of cultivated area.	Total.	Per plough.	Per both carts and plough.	Number of cultivated acres per plough.			
			Square miles.	Percentage of total area.												
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	Bagaha	613	11	51	208	50	46,109	148	16,850	54	5,681	10	2.7	2.3	12	
2	Shikarpur	554	18	60	179	31	72,991	133	21,094	58	4,115	11	2.7	2.3	11	
3	Bettia	67	3.60	60	107	31	3,058	155	2,074	69	1,100	3	2.5	2.4	10	
	Subdivisional figures	1,230	1.073	61	647	97	164,099	153	62,966	58	8,260	8	2.6	2.3	11	
4	Adampur	3.4	191	85	93	15	10,029	148	10,515	71	1,508	8	2.5	2.2	19	
5	Dhaka	3.5	278	53	57	17	29,604	105	10,554	36	2,162	8	2.9	2.4	14	
6	Motihari	3.6	236	71	83	20	10,411	80	4,274	24	655	3	3.1	3.1	37	
7	Gobindganj	3.6	100	90	86	30	16,371	82	6,328	27	4,356	12	3	1.7	24	
8	Kosaula	3.4	210	70	67	21	20,270	94	6,682	30	1,211	9	3.1	2.5	21	
9	Madhuban	123	109	81	13	19	0,548	96	3,615	54	630	6	2.9	2.4	18	
	Sadar subdivisional figures	1,510	1,100	78	310	23	118,942	92	40,826	34	11,602	9	2.9	2.3	18.04	
	District figures	3,250	2,253	70	387	31	282,381	126	10,442	46	19,368	9	3.1	2.3	14.00	

We find the largest number of draught-cattle per cultivated square mile in all the thanas of the Bettia subdivision, but it is curious to note that Bettia equals Shikarpur, and Bagaha stands third. But, without doubt, both the Bagaha and Shikarpur figures would have been very much higher had the statistics for agriculturists living in the hills outside the surveyed area been

included. Among the Sadar thanas, Adapur has the largest number of bullocks, viz., 138 per square mile of cultivation, followed by Dhaka with 105; next come the two adjacent thanas of Kesaria and Madhuban, with 96 and 94, respectively; and last of all are Motihari and Gobindganj, the former with 80 head and the latter with only two more. The same order is remarkably preserved, too, in the statistics for ploughs. But Bettia heads the list alone with 62 ploughs, or 10 acres per plough. In Bagaha and Shikarpur the area per plough is over 11 acres. Adapur, with 55 ploughs per square mile, is one better than Bagaha. The next thana is Dhaka, with 36 only. In Motihari there is the extraordinarily large area of 26 acres of cultivated land per plough, and in Gobindganj there are nearly 24 acres. These two thanas would appear to be understocked, though, owing to the soil being light, it is probably ploughed with ease and rapidity.

456. The district average is 14 acres per plough, and this seems to be about normal. As the thana statistics of carts do not appear to be accurate, I refrain from commenting on them.

STATUS.

457. Statistics of status are contained in the *terij goshwara* or abstract of the *terij*, the *terij* in its turn being an abstract of the *khatians*.

458. Lands held by public bodies, such as the District Board and the Kaiser-i-Hind or Crown land. Railway, cover only 9,578 acres, or 46 per cent. of the total area. This low figure indicates the meagreness of the district means of communication.

459. In the *gair mazrua khatians* are entered all waste nominally in the possession of the zamindar, but practically not in anyone's occupation. The homesteads of non-agriculturists are also recorded in them. These *khatians* absorb 492,602 acres, or so much as 23.6 per cent. of the total area. They are 9,533 in number, giving the enormous average area per *khatian* of 51.6 acres. This is in striking contrast to Muzaffarpur, where the average size is only 6 acres.

460. Excluding these two items, the occupied area is found to be 1,578,225 acres, or 75.8 per cent. of the total, and the following statement shows how it is apportioned amongst the different classes of tenancies:—

Serial number.	STATUS	TENANCIES		AREA		Average size of a holding in acres.	REMARKS.
		Total number.	Percentage of number of holdings of all classes exclusively of <i>gair mazrua</i> and Kaiser-i-Hind	Total area in acres.	Percentage of total area under all other status, except <i>gair mazrua</i> and Kaiser-i-Hind.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Proprietor's <i>zirat</i> (private lands)	409	10	4,881	3.0	12	
2	Held by proprietor, but not <i>zirat</i>	1,952	40	31,331	2.00	14	
3	In cultivating possession of tenure holders.	9,859	2.60	117,668	7.60	12	
4	Raiyats at fixed rents or rates	3,214	1	20,863	2	8	
5	Settled or occupancy raiyats	836,140	56	1,314,465	83	4	
6	Non-occupancy raiyats, including <i>diara</i> raiyats.	26,296	6	49,162	3.10	2	
7	Rent-free holders	14,140	4	54,227	2.10	2	
	Total occupied area	391,969	100	1,578,235	100	4	
8	Unoccupied Crown land	...	...	9,578	...		
9	Landlord's <i>gair mazrua</i> or waste land.	9,533	...	492,602	...	51	
	Total unoccupied	...	...	501,180	...		
	Total	400,192	...	2,079,415	...	5	
10	Under-raiyats	29,003	7	83,027	2	1	

461. In a district like Champaran, where the competition is mainly or
 Proprietor's private land, section 116, Bengal Tenancy Act. tenants to occupy land, the area held as proprietor's private land is necessarily inconsiderable. There are only 409 such *khatians* with an area of 4,881 acres. Thus they cover only .3 per cent. of the total occupied area. The average area per tenancy is 12 acres.

462. There are 1,952 holdings, or .4 per cent. of the total, held in the ordinary cultivation of proprietors. They account for 31,331 acres, or 2 per cent. only. The average area per tenancy is larger than for *zirait*, viz., 16 acres.

463. In a still greater degree than in Muzaffarpur the indigo planters swell the figures for land held in the direct occupation of
 In direct cultivation of tenure-holders. tenure-holders. There are 9,899 tenancies under this head, or 2.5 per cent. of the whole, but they account for 7.5 per cent. of the occupied area, the average size being 12 acres. In discussing indigo these figures will be reconsidered.

464. Of raiyats, those holding at fixed rates or rents are very few in number. There are only 3,214 holdings of this class, and they account for only 2 per cent. of the occupied area. The average size of a holding, however, is large, viz., 8 acres.

465. The great mass of the raiyats are of course settled. They appropriate just under 80 per cent. of the total number of holdings and 83 per cent. of the cultivated area. The average size of a holding is slightly under 4 acres, or about 2½ times bigger than in Muzaffarpur. The extent to which security of title has been confirmed to cultivators by these operations is fairly illustrated by these figures. In contrast to them I quote what Dr. Hunter wrote on the subject in his Statistical Account of Champaran in 1876:—

"Hardly any land in Champaran is held by tenants with a right of occupancy under Act X of 1859. The principal cause of this is the almost universal custom of letting villages in farm for short terms. Very few landlords let their lands to the raiyats direct, but farm them out to thikudars (lease-holders) for five or seven years. When the term expires, the landlord, as a rule, demands an enhanced rental from the lease-holder; and the increase falls ultimately on the raiyats, either in the shape of a higher rent per acre or by the addition of waste lands to their cultivation, for which rent is charged; or where there is no waste, by exacting rent for some fictitious land, commonly known as *kaghazi zamān*, i.e., paper land. It thus happens that few raiyats are able to hold their lands uninterruptedly for 12 years at the same rates. Only raiyats of a superior class receive *pattas*, which, when given, are generally the pretext for exacting *salams*. There are other reasons, however, to account for this unusual state of things. Champaran raiyats for the most part are extremely careless and ignorant of their legal rights. The zamindar is looked up to with unusual deference, and his demands are rarely disputed. Most of the district belongs to one or two proprietors, whose influence among their tenants is enormous and who can eject and dispossess at pleasure."

466. Non-occupancy raiyats are necessarily very few. They occupy 6 per cent. of the holdings, but only 3.1 per cent. of the area. The average holding is only 2 acres in extent. This is small, as it is generally *diara* land in which the non-occupancy right is found.

467. Rent-free holders are the class of least importance in this district. A rent-free grant of any magnitude is invariably largely sublet and therefore falls within the category of a tenure. The rent-free holdings are very small, the average size being 2.4 acres only. They account for 4 per cent. of the holdings and 2.1 per cent. of the area.

468. Another unimportant class is the under-raiyats. They occupy 2 per cent. of the area only, but 7 per cent. of the number of holdings. They are therefore very petty, a little over one acre only being the normal size.

469. Thus it is seen that the status of greatest importance in this district is that of settled and occupancy raiyats and the next that of tenure-holders in direct possession.

470. I will now compare the proportion in which land is held by the landlord and tenant classes in Champaran with those found in neighbouring districts. The statistics are furnished in the following statement:—

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Total occupied area.	Occupied by proprietors and tenure-holders.	Percentage to total area in column 4.	TENANT AREA.						TOTAL TENANT AREA		Remarks.
					Occupancy tenants.	Percentage to total area in column 5.	Fixed rates as proprietary and usab, &c.	Percentage to total area in column 6.	Tenants-at-will (or non-occupancy).	Percentage to total area in column 7.	Area.	Percentage to total area in column 8.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Benares	437,512	80,317	20	183,815	43	132,168	28	87,229	9	249,196	80	
2	Mirzapur	288,963	53,605	18	70,027	26	104,540	36	54,842	18	235,255	81	
3	Ghazipur	658,100	200,841	31	272,763	42	77,043	12	94,462	15	449,254	69	
4	Jaunpur	623,424	112,000	18	183,751	25	301,028	40	55,345	8	510,794	82	
5	Ballia	340,250	70,227	23	126,013	36	107,221	31	36,189	10	270,023	77	
6	Muzaffarpur	1,604,095	326,123	19	1,270,474	79	74,474	4	20,423	2	1,371,370	81	
7	Champaran	1,678,236	103,278	10	1,314,466	83	61,070	4	40,464	3	1,434,057	86	

None of the districts can compare with Champaran in the extent to which its cultivated land has been secured in the occupation of the cultivating class. Only 10 per cent. in Champaran is occupied by landlords, in spite of its large body of planters. The next lowest figure is 18 per cent., returned by Mirzapur and Jaunpur. Muzaffarpur is next with 19 per cent. In Ghazipur the vast amount of 31 per cent. is so held. The area held by non-occupancy raiyats in Champaran is only 3 per cent. of the total cultivated area. This is not more than one-third of the area held in any district of the North-West Provinces by tenants-at-will, a lower status. In Muzaffarpur the area held by non-occupancy raiyats is still smaller.

471. There is only one respect in which the North Bihar statistics compare unfavourably with those of the North-West Provinces. That is in the area held by raiyats at fixed rates. But the districts of the North-West Provinces had a previous settlement, whereas Bihar had none. If the figures for raiyats at fixed rates and those with occupancy rights, that is to say, those who have a security of tenant right, are considered in combination, it will be seen that they occupy a much larger proportion of the occupied area in Champaran than in any other district, the percentage being 87. Muzaffarpur comes next with 79 per cent., while the districts of the North-West Provinces return the following proportions:—

Benares	...	...	74
Mirzapur	...	...	64
Ghazipur	...	...	54
Jaunpur	...	...	74
Ballia	...	...	67

472. Returning once more to the statistics of the Champaran district, I subjoin the following statement, so that status may be considered in connection with locality:—

Serial number.	NAME OF SUB-DIVISION.	Total number of holdings in occupied area.	Total occupied area in acres.	PROPRIETOR'S ZIRAI.					HELD BY PROPRIETOR BUT NOT ZIRAI.				
				Number of holdings.	Percentage to total number of holdings in column 3.	Area.	Percentage to total area in column 4.	Average size.	Number of holdings.	Percentage to total number of holdings in column 3.	Area.	Percentage to total area in column 4.	Average size.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Bettia subdivisional figures.	170,714	745,245	58	0.03	904	0.13	16.6	445	0.25	15,917	2.13	35.7
2	Sadar subdivisional figures.	214,345	832,030	351	0.17	3,917	0.47	11.2	1,507	0.70	15,416	1.85	10.9
	District figures	301,950	1,578,235	499	0.10	4,821	0.51	11.9	1,952	0.60	31,333	1.98	16.0

Serial number.	NAME OF SUB-DIVISION.	IN CULTIVATING POSSESSION OF TENURE-HOLDERS.					TOTAL.					REMARKS.
		Number of holdings.	Percentage to total number of holdings in column 3.	Area.	Percentage to total area in column 4.	Average size.	Number of holdings.	Percentage to total number of holdings in column 3.	Area.	Percentage to total area in column 4.	Average size.	
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1	Bettia subdivisional figures.	3,807	2.14	71,292	9.57	18.4	4,776	2.47	88,173	11.82	20.2	
2	Sadar subdivisional figures.	6,032	2.81	45,773	5.70	7.6	7,890	3.65	65,165	7.82	8.3	
	District figures	9,839	2.93	117,065	7.42	11.0	12,666	3.13	153,338	9.71	12.5	

473. It will be seen that the proportion of proprietors' private land is nearly four times as great in the Sadar as in the Bettia subdivision, though even in the former it is under 5 per cent. It is largest in Madhuban and Kosaria. In Gobindganj there is none. Under land held in proprietor's occupation but not private land, Bettia subdivision returns 2.1 per cent., as against 1.8 per cent. in the Sadar. Madhuban with 5.2 per cent. is the highest, and Bagaha with 3.47 per cent. the lowest, but the reason is in either case very different. In the former the land is retained in direct possession, this being found to be remunerative. In Bagaha it is so retained in the absence of a demand for settlement. The latter reason probably accounts for the percentage of the Bettia subdivision being higher than that for the Sadar. In the area held by tenure-holders Bettia subdivision takes the lead with 9.57 per cent. The absence of demand for land again is partly the reason. In Shikarpur, too, there are some small villages in the possession of tenure-holders, mostly native mukarraridars, which are held almost entirely in khas possession. The percentage of that thana is accordingly the highest, viz., 12.8 per cent. The proportion of area so held for the Sadar subdivision is 5½ per cent. Gobindganj thana records the highest, 9 per cent., then comes Motihari, 6 per cent. and Kosaria, 5½ per cent., the reason of their position being the large expanses of indigo lands in direct occupation of indigo concerns. The area held by landlords as a whole in Bettia subdivision is 11.8 per cent. and in Sadar 7.8 per cent. In Bettia the highest figures are found in Shikarpur and Bagaha (14 and 11.6 per cent.) and in the Sadar in Gobindganj and Madhuban (10.2 and 9.5 per cent. respectively). The causes, as I have said, are diverse. In Shikarpur and Madhuban there are numerous petty proprietors and tenure-holders respectively. In Bagaha the demand for land is greater than the supply. In Gobindganj there is a large indigo concern that absorbs much of the cultivated area. The relative sizes of average holdings require no detailed comment. The figures for

thikadars are vitiated by the number of petty britdars (rent-free tenure-holders) in some thanas. Thus Motihari returns 20.9 as the average size of a tenure-holder's tenancy, while in Gobindganj it is 4.6 acres only.

The raiyati area.

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total number of hold-ings in occupied area.	Total occupied area.	FIXED RATES.					OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.					NON-OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.				
				Number of hold-ings.	Percentage to column 5.	Area.	Percentage to column 4.	Average size.	Number of hold-ings.	Percentage to column 5.	Area.	Percentage to column 4.	Average size.	Number of hold-ings.	Percentage to column 5.	Area.	Percentage to column 4.	Average size.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	Bazaha ...	64,707	216,930	98	0.1	1,029	0.4	10	47,324	87	174,870	88	3	5,810	11	11,810	5	3
2	Shikarpur ...	53,180	257,066	107	0.3	1,439	1	7	68,163	91	269,232	81	4	1,440	3	4,121	3	3
3	Bettia ...	68,707	273,279	454	1	4,861	2	10	59,386	74	215,571	79	4	11,029	10	30,860	8	1
	Subdivisional Total ...	176,714	745,255	749	0.4	7,339	1	9	114,823	84	599,673	80	4	18,279	10	56,797	5	3
4	Adapur ...	26,830	125,820	81	0.3	1,132	1	13	24,068	93	116,978	91	4	408	3	683	1	1
5	Dhaka ...	44,223	191,709	510	3	4,939	3	6	42,803	8	1,06,974	87	3	571	1	1,098	1	1
6	Motihari ...	51,140	110,113	143	0.4	2,230	1	15	27,059	87	129,551	87	4	2,005	0	3,492	2	1
7	Gobindganj ...	42,129	144,143	309	1	2,789	2	9	31,258	81	118,088	82	4	2,030	5	3,703	3	1
8	Kemaria ...	41,923	159,290	998	2	7,553	5	7	35,453	86	125,511	82	8	1,608	4	3,074	2	1
9	Madhuban ...	24,700	67,115	124	1	821	1	6	22,665	92	78,420	80	2	308	2	618	1	1
	Sadar Subdivisional Total ...	211,835	832,980	2,405	1	19,161	2	7	187,236	87	714,792	86	8	7,017	3	12,693	2	1
	GRAND TOTAL OF THE DISTRICT	201,000	1,578,935	3,213	7	25,803	2	8	356,149	80	1,314,465	81	3	25,290	6	49,402	3	1

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	RENT-FREE HOLDERS.					TOTAL					UNDER-RAIYATS.					Muzahars
		Number of hold-ings.	Percentage to column 5.	Area.	Percentage to column 4.	Average size.	Number of hold-ings.	Percentage to column 5.	Area.	Percentage to column 5.	Average size.	Number of hold-ings.	Percentage to column 5.	Area.	Percentage to column 5.	Average size.	
		20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
1	Bazaha ...	694	1	2,998	1	8	23,980	60	189,900	88	3	2,801	5	3,809	2	1	
2	Shikarpur ...	1,856	3	4,090	2	2	51,455	97	210,481	85	4	2,911	3	3,322	2	1	
3	Bettia ...	2,040	3	6,110	2	3	60,500	97	247,638	91	5	6,463	10	7,763	3	9	
	Subdivisional Total ...	4,590	3	13,268	2	3	172,346	66	657,112	88	3	11,425	7	14,561	2	1	
4	Adapur ...	527	2	1,908	2	8	26,064	97	120,785	94	1	2,542	10	5,377	3	1	
5	Dhaka ...	2,804	6	6,126	3	2	46,978	97	178,236	93	3	2,870	6	2,079	2	1	
6	Motihari ...	1,496	5	2,774	2	1	30,918	96	139,987	93	4	2,800	9	3,404	3	1	
7	Gobindganj ...	2,327	5	4,158	3	1	32,234	92	129,390	96	3	4,164	11	4,316	3	1	
8	Kemaria ...	2,051	5	4,837	3	2	40,310	97	146,735	92	3	3,171	8	2,568	2	0.9	
9	Madhuban ...	742	3	1,340	2	1	23,920	97	69,026	90	2	2,933	9	1,781	3	0.8	
	Sadar Subdivisional Total ...	9,747	6	26,264	3	2	208,458	99	787,545	92	3	17,579	9	18,464	2	1	
	GRAND TOTAL OF THE DISTRICT.	14,146	4	34,227	2	2	37,980	97	1,484,657	90	3	30,003	6	33,077	2	1	

474. Turning now to the areas held by raiyats of different classes we see that the proportion of land in the occupation of raiyats is in the Bettia subdivision 88 per cent., as against 92 per cent. in the Sadar. Raiyats at fixed rates account for a very much larger area in the Sadar than in the Bettia subdivision, the figures being 2·3 per cent. for the Sadar and just under 1 per cent. for Bettia. In Bagaha these holdings are most insignificant in size and number. The largest area is so held in Kesaria, nearly 5 per cent. Dhaka comes next with half that proportion. It is clear then that the reclamation of these two thanas is not of recent date. Madhuban is also no doubt a thana that has been cultivated from very early times, still it only returns a little over 1 per cent. of its area as held by raiyats at fixed rates. But then it is largely owned by petty proprietors, the greatest foes to stability of tenant rights and rents. The statistics of the average size of these holdings are not very instructive. The largest are in Motihari and the smallest in Dhaka. It is generally true that the fewer they are in number, the larger is their average size. Coming to occupancy raiyats, we find the same difference between the Bettia and Sadar subdivisions as in the case of raiyats at fixed rates. In Bettia, the occupancy raiyats own 80·4 per cent. of the occupied area, and account for 84·2 per cent. of the holdings, whereas in the Sadar they hold 85·8 of the area, 87·5 per cent. of the holdings. In the Bettia subdivision, or for the matter of that, in the whole district, thana Bettia has the least proportion of occupancy raiyats occupying the smallest area, the figures being 77·03 and 78·88, respectively. I have already described how a very large number of raiyats came to be attested as non occupancy in the first year of attestation which, though subsequently reduced on re-attestation, still stood at a high figure. To these must be added the raiyats of the Patjirwa diara attested in 1896-97, hence the large non-occupancy area in Bettia thana. In the other two thanas of this subdivision the percentage of area occupied by this class is the same (81·3), but in Shikarpur the proportion of holdings is greater, being 90·5 per cent., against 86·5 in Bagaha.

475. All the Sadar thanas exceed the highest area percentage of any thana in Bettia, Adapur heading the list with 91 per cent. of its area held by occupancy raiyats and 93 per cent. of its holdings. It is, on the other hand, surprising to see Kesaria stand last but one in the Sadar group, the percentage to the number of holdings being 85·7 covering 82·4 per cent. of the area. The situation, however, is fully redeemed by this thana returning the largest area, as we have seen above, under raiyats at fixed rates, and the largest but one, as we shall see hereafter, under rent-free holders. Besides this, there is a considerable diara area in Kesaria. Indeed, the very last thana in the Sadar in the list is Gobindganj, which is completely skirted on one side by the big Gandak. In Gobindganj there is another minor reason in the careful management of the Turkaulia concern resulting in the detection of new holdings that are created. In the remaining three thanas, Motihari, Dhaka and Madhuban, the percentage is the same, viz., over 86 per cent.

476. In examining the average size of holdings the smallness of the difference in the two subdivisions strikes us with surprise. In the Sadar subdivision the average size is 4·1 acres only; in the Bettia subdivision it is 3·8 acres. But it is still more remarkable to see that while in Shikarpur it is 4·3 acres, in Bagaha it is so low as 3·6 acres. There is, however, a good explanation. The Bagaha thana consists of 433 villages. In the first 140 of them, that is to say, in those geographically situated in the northwest and north of the thana there are 6,911 holdings covering an area of 48,578 acres and averaging therefore 7 acres each. In the remaining 293, although the area is 119,521 acres, the number of khatians at the same time rises to 40,463 and thus the average size of a holding goes down to 2·96 acres. The explanation lies in the different conditions obtaining in the two portions of the thana. There is abundance of land in both, though of course it is somewhat more plentiful in the northern portion covered by the 140 villages. But in the southern portion, villages are unusually large in size. Indeed, it is there that the largest village in the district, Semra Sabedaha, covering 40 square miles, is situated. The Bettia Raj has parcelled these villages out under several thikadars, and a tenant almost invariably holds under more than one thikadar, and

thus his land may be split up into several holdings. In fact, the same circumstances operate as where proprietors are petty. In the village noted above, the average size of a holding works out to be 3·9 acres, but there are half-a-dozen *thikadars*, and it was not uncommon for the same tenant to be called up two or three times over to attest or accept the fair-rent compromises for his several holdings. The aggregate of these several holdings would probably average 7 acres, or perhaps 10 acres. In Shikarpur also a similar cause operates. In a previous paragraph I have shown how numerous and small the villages here are, a fact quite inconsistent with its primitive and still undeveloped conditions, and I suggested that it was due to the confounding of villages with *tolas* at the time of the revenue survey. Pandit Rama Ballabh Misra, Assistant Settlement Officer, reports that—

“Most of these *tolas* have since been deserted and small ones converted into big *bustis*, so that at present at least one out of these villages is untenanted, or what they locally call *Bechirapi*, i.e., where no *chirag* or lamp is lighted. The raiyats of the neighbouring villages cultivate their lands, perhaps unconscious even of the fact that they are situate in a village separate from the one in which they reside. At the lowest calculation therefore the area held by an average tenant in the thana is in no case less than 7 acres and might be more.”

It must also be remembered that had hill and jungle been surveyed, the average size of holdings in both thanas would have been increased. In Bettia thana also the subdivision of villages into *thikadari tolas* similarly operates, but on a small scale. For the whole subdivision therefore an average area of 6 acres per cultivator will not be wide of the mark. In the Sadar, on the other hand, though population is more congested, villages are large, and mostly in possession of one landlord. The average size of holding, as returned by the statistics, is probably an approximate representation of actual facts. In Adapur, Motihari and Gobindganj, which are all dominated by big landlords, the holdings average between 4·6 and 4·8 only. In Dhaka, where population presses more severely on the soil, and where there is also a sprinkling of petty maliks, it goes down to 3·9, which is further reduced to 3·5 in the southernmost thana of Kesaria. But the lowest limit, viz., 2·6 acres, is of course reached in Madhuban, where the conditions are similar to those of Tirhut. In the last-named thanas no doubt the average area of land held by a single cultivator is larger than the average size of a settled holding.

477. All things considered, the average area held by a cultivating family in each thana can be taken to be as follows:—

Bagaha	7
Shikarpur	7
Bettia	5
Bettia Subdivision	
Adapur	
Dhaka	4·5
Motihari	5
Gobindganj	5
Kesaria	4
Madhuban	3·5
Sadar subdivision	
	4 acres.

478. As expected, non-occupancy raiyats occupy a larger proportion of area and a greater number of the holdings in Bettia subdivision than in the Sadar. In Bettia nearly 5 per cent. of the area is so held, as against 1½ per cent. in the Sadar. In thana Bettia no less than 16 per cent. of the holdings belong to this class, and they occupy 7·6 per cent. of the area. I have already explained the reason. Bagaha comes next with 5½ per cent. of its area so held. It has a very large area. Shikarpur would probably have returned more than 1·6 of its cultivated area as held by non-occupancy raiyats had the management of the Ramnagar Raj been more effective. In the Sadar subdivision Motihari, Gobindganj and Kesaria are the only thanas that return any but an insignificant area as held by non-occupancy raiyats, and for them the figures are 2·3, 2·5 and 1·9 per cent. only, respectively.

479. The average size of a non-occupancy holding is everywhere very small, 2 acres in the Bettia subdivision and 1·8 in Sadar. It is largest in thana

Shikarpur, measuring 2·8, and smallest in Madhuban, only 1·6. The smallness of the holdings was also noticeable in the case of Muzaffarpur. It is evident that non-occupancy holdings are held for the most part by agricultural labourers who take settlement for a little land as a supplementary source of income.

480. Rent-free holders are an equally unimportant class. As I have said, the bigger birtbars who have raiyats under them have been treated as rent-free tenure-holders and find no place in these figures, which relate solely to petty rent-free holders such as *gorails*. These occupy a larger area in the Sadar than in the Bettia subdivision. They are most noticeable in Dhaka and Kesaria, and least so in Bagaha, Adapur and Shikarpur. Their average size of holding is greater in the Bettia subdivision than in the Sadar, but even so is very small. The largest average is in Adapur, 3·6 acres. It is above 3 acres also in Bagaha and Shikarpur. Motihari returns the smallest, 1·3 acres.

481. Under-raiyats are, as would be expected, slightly more numerous, and in occupation of a slightly larger area in the Sadar than in the Bettia subdivision, but they are so unimportant that the figures do not call for detailed discussion. The average size of an under-raiyat's holding is only 1 acre, and this would indicate that when lands are taken on sub-lease it is mainly with the mere object of obtaining a source of income supplementary to others.

482. In the *lorij goshwara* the cultivated and so-called uncultivated area held by each status are distinguished. In the case of Muzaffarpur there is practically no land in a raiyat's holding that is not remunerative. There are few holdings which include private grazing land and the area shown as uncultivated is generally mango grove or homestead. In Champaran, however, where land is more plentiful and less highly developed, the point calls for a closer scrutiny. The percentage of the total area classified as cultivated and uncultivated is as follows for each class of raiyat:—

RAIYATS AT FIXED RENTS OR RATES.					SETTLED OR OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.					NON-OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.					UNDER-RAIYATS.					
Total area.	CULTIVATED.		UNCULTIVATED.		Total area.	CULTIVATED.		UNCULTIVATED.		Total.	CULTIVATED.		UNCULTIVATED.		Total.	CULTIVATED.		UNCULTIVATED.		
	Area.	Percentage.	Area.	Percentage.		Area.	Percentage.	Area.	Percentage.		Area.	Percentage.	Area.	Percentage.		Area.	Percentage.	Rsm. Rs.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20,808	23,346	87	3,437	15	1,255,067	1,140,639	92	106,398	8	34,024	34,504	89	4,130	11	11,450	10,780	94	661		

483. It is thus seen that nearly 6 per cent. of the area held by under-raiyats is returned as uncultivated, and this demonstrates that there is a large amount of the land classified as uncultivated that is remunerative. For no under-raiyat being liable to ejectment at will would take settlement of and pay rent for unremunerative land. Over 10½ per cent. of the non-occupancy area and about 8½ per cent. of the occupancy area are classified as uncultivated. It is odd that the proportion for raiyats at fixed rates should exceed both of these. There is probably a combination of reasons. The raiyats at fixed rates being the earliest settlers in the village have homesteads above the average size. Then since they hold at a low rate of rent, they can afford to have more land under mango groves or to reserve some for private grazing. Finally, inherent lethargy is a very important factor. They do not require to cultivate all their lands for their subsistence, so they leave part fallow to save themselves trouble. The circumstances of a district where rents are too low from the point of view of social and agricultural development are almost as bad as those of a district where rents are too high. For the native cultivator does not work without a strong incentive. As for occupancy raiyats, both these figures and personal observation lead one to believe that the amount of unremunerative land in their holdings is infinitesimal in this district as in Muzaffarpur. Consequently rent-rates will be worked out on the total area.

RENTS.

484. It is of course well known that the average rent-rates in Champaran are very low, and the causes have been sufficiently explained in these pages. They can be summed up in one sentence. The agricultural resources of the country are only half developed. There are no recognised rent-rates in different classes of soil, but lump rentals are paid on the whole holding; yet there is one thing that a Champaran raiyat, his general apathy and ignorance notwithstanding, will not submit to, and that is, an enhancement of his rent-rate. He willingly gives a large *salami* or an increased rent on excess area, but if his landlord tries to enhance his rent-rate, he will fight or abandon his holding and go elsewhere, and there being available land elsewhere, he is largely master of the situation.

The district rates.

485. The district average rent-rates for each class of raiyat are shown below :—

Serial number.	CLASS OF RAIYATS.	Area in acres.	Rent in rupees.	Rate per acre.
1	2	3	4	5
			Rs.	Rs. A. P.
1	Raiyats at fixed rates ...	26,803	30,632	1 2 8
2	Settled and occupancy raiyats...	1,255,967	23,63,256	1 14 1
3	Non-occupancy ...	38,624	69,538	1 12 10
	Total ...	1,321,394	24,63,426	1 13 9

It is noticeable that 24 out of 25 lakhs of the total rental is payable by settled and occupancy raiyats, only a lakh being realisable from raiyats at fixed rates and non-occupancy raiyats, the latter paying twice the amount paid by the former. The district rental for all classes is Re. 1-13-9, and in no case does it come up to Rs. 2 per acre. Raiyats at fixed rates pay at, of course, the lowest rate, viz., Re. 1-2-3 an acre. But settled and occupancy raiyats who hold 85 per cent. of the area pay an average of only Re. 1-14-1. This is the highest rent-rate, non-occupancy raiyats paying Re. 1-12-10 per acre, or nearly 2 annas less. That this should be so is eloquent testimony of the general absence of demand for land. Those who are willing to reclaim are allowed settlements at privileged rates.

486. To convey an idea of the lowness of the Champaran rates, they are compared with neighbouring districts in the following statement compared with those of some neighbouring districts :—

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	EX-PROPRIETARY.			FIXED RATES.			OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.			NON OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.			TOTAL.		
		Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
		Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.
1	Champaran ...	...	...	...	36,803	30,632	1 2 8	1,255,967	23,63,256	1 14 1	38,624	69,538	1 12 10	1,321,394	24,63,426	1 13 9
2	Muzaffarpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Ghazipur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Benares ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5	Gaya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Taking all classes of raiyats together the rent-rate of Champaran is Re. 1-13-9 per acre, or lower than that of Muzaffarpur and Ghazipur, Benares and Gaya by 100 per cent. or over.

487. If the rent-rates be considered class by class they disclose a similar disparity. Every raiyat at fixed rates in Champaran pays rents about three

times lower than elsewhere. Occupancy raiyats pay half the Muzaffarpur rates and about one-third of those prevalent in the other districts. Non-occupancy raiyats are of course in a still more favourable position, there being no other districts, except Gaya, where the non-occupancy is lower than the occupancy rate. That the average rent-rates are very low is of course not altogether incompatible with the existence in special areas of excessive rentals, and to throw light on

at this point of view statistics of the occupancy rent-rate have been compiled from a number of villages in certain selected estates. They are condensed in the following statement:—

NAME OF ESTATE.	Number of villages.	Area of estates.	Total number of settled raiyats.	AREA HELD BY SETTLED RAIYATS.		Average rate of rent per acre for whole holding, excluding produce rents.	REMARKS.
				Area.	Percentage to totals.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Acres.		Acres.		Rs. A. P.	
I.—Bettia Raj ...	10	8,737	1,408	6,914	79	1 14 0	
Shihar and Tikari ...	10	5,618	1,467	4,103	74	2 1 0	
Raj Ramnagar ...	10	7,861	673	3,927	50	1 4 0	
Madhuban Babu ...	10	8,467	1,462	6,378	75	3 7 0	
Petty proprietors ...	9	7,537	1,810	4,971	66	1 12 0	
Total ...	49	38,115	6,807	26,293	61	1 15 8	
II.—Factory mukarraridars ...	9	4,861	1,341	3,172	65	2 0 0	
Factory thikadars ...	9	4,125	753	3,135	76	2 2 0	
Native ditto ...	9	3,439	472	2,409	60	1 5 0	
Total ...	27	12,425	2,566	8,716	70	1 13 8	
III.—Revenue-free proprietors.	23	11,981	2,331	8,775	73	1 12 0	
GRAND TOTAL ...	99	62,521	11,704	43,784	70	1 14 8	

488. It will be first noticed from column 6 that the largest percentage of the estate area held by occupancy raiyats is under the Bettia Raj, viz., 79 per cent., and the lowest under petty proprietors, viz., 66 per cent. This excludes the Raj Ramnagar, which contains so much waste that its percentage of 50 gives no fair basis of comparison. For revenue-free properties, the Tikari Shihar and Madhuban estates, the percentages vary between 73 and 75. It is remarkable that so much as 76 per cent. of the area under factory thikadars is held by occupancy raiyats, but for factory mukarraris it descends to 65 per cent., and for native thikadars still lower to 60 per cent.

489. It will be seen that in all cases the rent-rate ranges between Rs. 2-2 and Rs. 1-4 per acre, except in the case of the Madhuban Babu, in whose villages it is as high as Rs. 3-7 per acre. The reason for this high rent-rate in this estate has been explained in the previous chapter. The lowest rate is in the Ramnagar Raj, which is located for the most part in Shikarpur. The low rent of Re. 1-12 returned for estates held by petty proprietors is, I fear, not typical. They abound in Madhuban thana, and I shall show hereafter that rent-rates there are the highest. Even for those selected villages, too, it will be subsequently seen that a larger percentage of the raiyats of petty proprietors pay at more excessive rates of rent than the others. The rates of Rs. 2 paid by occupancy raiyats to factory mukarraridars, and of Rs. 2-2 paid by them to Factory thikadars are, I believe, characteristic. Their raiyats pay a little higher than those holding under the Raj direct. The rate of Re. 1-5 for native thikadars is suspiciously low, and, if typical, is certainly due to the fact that native

thikaders take the remainder of their assets in *adwas* so as to show a small rent-roll and thus get a renewal of settlement on favourable terms.

490. The percentage of raiyats under these classes of landlords who pay at different rates are examined in the following statement:—

NAME OF LANDLORD.	Total number of settled raiyats.	NUMBER OF SETTLED RAIYATS HOLDING AT—										REMARKS.
		Rupees 2 and under.		Rupees 3 and under.		Rupees 4 and under.		Rupees 5 and under.		Over Rs. 5.		
		Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
CLASS I.												
Bettia Raj	1,405	534	38.0	519	36.9	263	18.7	62	4.4	37	2.6	
Shiuhar and Tikari	1,407	454	31.0	324	23.0	244	17.3	107	7.6	194	13.8	
Raj Ramnagar	673	465	69.1	173	25.7	22	3.3	3	0.4	10	1.5	
Madhuban Babu	1,458	45	3.1	223	15.4	254	17.4	247	17.0	85	5.8	
Petty proprietors	1,910	617	32.3	321	16.8	138	7.2	619	32.4	46	2.4	
Total	6,507	2,115	32.5	1,664	25.6	1,671	25.7	1,090	16.6	359	5.5	
CLASS II.												
Factory mukarraridars	1,341	519	38.7	290	21.6	512	38.2	8	0.6	12	0.9	
Do. thikadars	753	242	32.1	347	46.1	101	13.4	13	1.7	10	1.3	
Native ditto	472	241	51.1	118	25.0	80	16.9	12	2.5	15	3.2	
Total	2,566	742	28.9	755	29.4	1,093	42.6	33	1.3	37	1.4	
CLASS III.												
Revenue-free proprietors	2,231	1,505	67.4	320	14.3	262	11.8	80	3.6	104	4.7	
GRAND TOTAL	11,704	4,422	37.8	3,739	31.9	3,836	32.7	1,211	10.4	497	4.2	

491. From the total it will be seen that 37.8 per cent. of the settled raiyats hold at Rs. 2 per acre, 23.4 at Rs. 3, and 24.2 at Rs. 4 and under, and only 10.4 at Rs. 5 and under, and a very small percentage of 4.3 over Rs. 5. Under proprietors they fare slightly better than under tenure-holders, as under the former 31 per cent. are assessed at or below Rs. 2, against 28.9 under the latter and 24.4 at or below Rs. 3, against 29.4 and 23 per cent. at or below Rs. 4, against 30 per cent. But rates higher than Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 appear more prevalent among proprietors than among tenure-holders, though it is in the Madhuban estate and in those of petty proprietors that the high rent-rates are mainly found. They are also noticeable in the Shiuhar Tikari villages. In the Bettia Raj, however, which occupies so large a part of the district, only 4.4 per cent. of the raiyats pay over Rs. 4, and just under 2 per cent. over Rs. 5. In villages held by factory mukarraridars and tenure-holders the proportion is very much less, being in those of the former under 1½ per cent. The Ramnagar Raj has so many as 69 per cent. of its raiyats paying at Rs. 2 and under, a very insignificant number holding at rents above Rs. 3 per acre. In striking contrast are the estates of the Madhuban Babu and of petty proprietors. In the Madhuban estate only 3 per cent. of the raiyats hold at Rs. 2 and under, and 15.3 per cent. at Rs. 3 and under, 59 per cent. pay between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4, and 17 per cent. between Rs. 4 and Rs. 5. I will not lay too much stress on the low rents for petty proprietors, as I fear they are not typical. I do not believe that in ordinary villages 34 per cent. of the raiyats pay under Rs. 2, and 22 per cent. under Rs. 3. At the other end of the scale 34 per cent. are shown to pay between Rs. 4 and Rs. 5, and this is, I think, characteristic. The revenue-free proprietors, though mainly petty, do not appear to pay much attention to enhancing rates. They have no revenue to pay for one thing, and then, being largely Brahmans, are indifferent to zamindari affairs. So many as 67 per cent. of their raiyats are returned as holding at or below Rs. 2 only per acre. From the statistics that have been put forward then it is evident that the most considerate landlords are the Bettia Raj and its European tenure-holders. I omit the Ramnagar Raj as it is lenient out of pure necessity, for its area is still very largely unreclaimed.

492. The indigo factories when they take leases of villages do not look to profits from rents; indeed, there are cases where they pay higher rents to the Raj than they realise

Indigo factories as lessors.

from their raiyats, and during the current operations there were some who applied for enhancement of rents because they were so instructed by the Bettia Raj, not out of their free will. In short, they want indigo and good indigo, and the means of getting it is to keep the tenants happy and contented. On the other hand, there is no indication that the realisation of adequate rents is neglected. They vary mainly between Rs. 2 and Rs. 4, and Rs. 2 is a very fair average for the district. In respect both of assessment and of realisation the Bettia villages in lease to factories are better managed than those held direct. Factory management, if regarded from the point of view of rents alone, is in the Bettia Raj greatly to the advantage of the proprietor, and, I believe, almost equally to the benefit of the raiyats. There are of course other points of view, but these will be dealt with in the chapter on indigo.

493. In view of the high rents in the Madhuban Babu's estates the Director of Land Records in letter No. 804S., dated

Question of granting to Revenue officers special power to settle or reduce rents.

23rd March 1896, enquired "whether it appears desirable that Revenue officers conducting operations under Chapter X of the Act should be vested with powers additional to those which they at present possess (a) to settle rents, (b) to reduce rents."

"Even if," I replied, "an 8-rupee rate of rent per bigha is decreed, although high for Champaran, it does not seem to me to be, on the whole, oppressive, for the bigha is 2 acres and the land produces 30 to 35 maunds of paddy per acre as well as either *bhadaï* or *rabi* crops, and the rent represents about one-fourth to one-fifth of the produce, after paying all the expenses of raising it. "It is only in case of flood that the rents cause hardship, but ordinarily the rents, although high, can be paid, and I do not think extra powers are required by the Settlement Officers to cope with the difficulty. There are no indications of bitter disputes or insupportable oppression as would alone justify a recourse to the provisions of section 112, Bengal Tenancy Act. In my opinion it is only the most extreme circumstances which should be allowed to compel us to incur the odium of proceedings under this section" (my letter to Director, No. 143, dated 3rd June 1896). As it eventually turned out, we were able to frustrate the attempt, and the rents entered in the record-of-rights are for the most part Rs. 3 lower than those the Madhuban Babu claimed. They are to the same extent higher than those the raiyats admitted.

494. The rent-roll has mainly developed in the direction of new assessment on extended cultivation, but in spite of the

The rent-roll past and present.

low rent rates still prevailing; there has been some enhancement of rent as well as much increase. I shall try to convey an idea of the extent of both from the information contained in old *jamabandis* and Collectorate registers.

495. I have referred in Chapter IV, Part I to a register found in the Collector's record-room containing particulars of the permanent settlement. It contains a column for rent as well as for revenue. It is unfortunately blank for pargana Mohsi, but the proper entries have been ascertained by applying to its revenue the proportion found to exist between the revenue and rent of the other two parganas of Semraon and Majhaua. The result is that in 1790 the total rental of the whole district was Rs. 5,55,615. In 1876, when the rental was again ascertained for the purposes of determining the road-cess, it was estimated at Rs. 26,20,942, which was further raised to Rs. 30,73,556, at the next revaluation in 1893. Our records, on the other hand, work it out to be Rs. 24,63,426. About 10 per cent. has to be allowed for the rent of land in direct cultivation of landlords, which will bring the total to 27 lakhs. The area held rent-free is small, and I do not think any amount of coaxing will get the district rent-roll up to 30 lakhs after making due allowance for *sairat*. Thus there appears little chance of a revaluation being conducted with any success. I refrain from drawing any conclusions as to rent rate based on the areas entered in the register of 1790, as they are not sufficiently trustworthy, and pass on to discuss specific information obtained from the Bettia Raj *jamabandis* and the resumption registers.

496. To begin with the *jamabandis*: those examined are 67 in number relating to villages scattered over all the thanas of the district, except Dhaka and Madhuban, and bear dates ranging from 1793 to 1870. I have divided them into four groups, the first consisting of the *jamabandis* of the year of the permanent settlement (none being available of prior date), the second of subsequent years up to 1820 (most of which fall between 1815 and 1820), the third up to 1850, and the fourth up to 1870. For each group, the area and rent as then recorded are compared with the present figures in the following statement:—

PERIOD.	Number of villages.	Total area according to survey.	RAIYATI AREA ACCORDING TO—			RENT ACCORDING TO—						RATE ACCORDING TO—						REMARKS.
			Raj jamabandi.	Survey.	Percentage of increase.	Raj jamabandi.			Survey.	Percentage of increase.	Raj jamabandi.		Survey.	Percentage of increase.				
						Rent.	Abwab.	Total.			Without abwab.	With abwab.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.				
1st Period (1793)	3	1,011	80	549	596	91	11	102	854	834	737	1 3 3	1 4 5	1 8 11	31	33		
2nd Period (1794—1820)	21	22,083	6,371	10,300	155	8,940	2,307	11,347	30,460	230	168	1 6 6	1 13 6	1 13 11	33	3		
3rd Period (1820—1870)	34	28,348	11,158	19,706	77	12,917	6,049	17,966	54,347	105	90	1 3 5	1 9 6	1 11 8	60	7		
4th Period since 1870	9	8,810	4,730	6,158	30	7,315	2,415	9,728	14,102	93	46	1 8 8	2 0 10	2 4 9	40	19		

497. In the three villages of thana Bettia for which the *jamabandis* of the year 1793 are available, the *raiya* area has risen from 80 to 549 acres, or more than sixfold, and the rent from Rs. 102 to Rs. 854, or eightfold. But the rate has risen from Re. 1-4-5 to Re. 1-8-11, or by 22 per cent. only. It will be noticed that 10 per cent. of the rent realised was made up of various *abwab*. For the second period the number of *jamabandis* is fairly large. The area here has increased by 155 per cent. and rent by 168, including *abwab*. The increase in rate is 5 per cent. only. Coming to the third period, for which we have 34 villages, the rise in area is further reduced to 77 per cent. and rent to 90 per cent. There is a slight increase in rate, viz., by 7 per cent. In the fourth period the increase in area comes down to 30 per cent. and in rent to 46, but the rent rate rises to 12 per cent., a good deal higher therefore than in either of the previous periods. It will also have been noticed that, while the *abwab* formed 10 per cent. of the rent in 1793, it went up to close upon 20 in 1820 and to above 40 per cent. in 1850. But it decreased a little in the fourth period. Leaving all possible margin, it is, I think, clear that the first half of the century was characterised by an enormous increase in area. In the latter part of the century there has necessarily been a slower expansion of cultivation, but there has also been a tendency for the rent rate to increase.

498. A remarkable corroboration of the results furnished by these interesting figures is supplied by the following statement compiled for 19 villages which were resumed in 1839-40:—

YEAR.	Number of villages.	TOTAL AREA ACCORDING TO—		TOTAL RAIYATI AREA ACCORDING TO—				RENT ACCORDING TO—		RATE ACCORDING TO—		Percentage of increase.	REMARKS.
		Resumption.	Survey.	Resumption.		Survey.		Resumption.	Survey.	Resumption.	Survey.		
				Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1899-00	19	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.		Acres.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		
		2,197	12,144	2,395	40	2,061	61	2,425	14,901	1 1 11	1 19 5	33	

499. These villages do not appear to have been wholly resumed, so their *raiya*ti areas have been compared, and we find that 40 per cent. of the area was *raiya*ts' in 1839-40 and that 61 per cent. is now. The corresponding figures furnished by the *jamabandi* statistics of the third period are 39 and 69 respectively. These two sources, therefore, furnish information in agreement to a remarkable degree. So, too, in rent rates. The increase of present rents is 50 per cent. in excess of those recorded in the *jamabandis* without *abwab* and 58 per cent. in excess of those shown in the resumption register. *Abwabs* are discarded, because, during the resumption proceedings, they were probably given no recognition. But this increase, without the inclusion of *abwab*, is of course nominal. The actual increase was only 7 per cent.

500. Thus the enhancement was on the whole very moderate, but the estates of the Madhuban Babu in tappa Duho Suho, resumed and settled in 1839, afford an exception, the more striking, because so rare.

Enhancement in the estates of the Madhuban Babu.

PERIOD.	Number of villages.	TOTAL RAIYATI AREA ACCORDING TO—		Percentage of increase.	RENT ACCORDING TO—		Percentage of increase.	RATE ACCORDING TO—		Percentage of increase.	REMARKS.
		Resumption.	Present sur-vey.		Resumption.	Survey.		Resumption.	Survey.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Acres.	Acres.		Rs.	Rs.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		
1839-40 (Tappa Duho Suho).	63	18,606	26,800	43	17,711	79,968	352	0 15 2	3 0 6	220	

The *raiya*ti area has risen from 18,000 to 26,800 acres, or by 41 per cent. the *jamabandi* figures, which extend over a period of 30 years, from 1820 to 1850, showing 77 per cent. But when we come to rent, the rise is phenomenal, viz., from Rs. 17,711 to Rs. 79,968, or by 351 per cent., against only 90, elsewhere for that period, as shown by the *jamabandis*. The rate has shot up from annas 15-2 to Rs. 3-0-6, or by 220 per cent., against only 7 or 50 without *abwab* elsewhere. Of course a rent-rate of under Re. 1, such as formerly existed, would in the case of tappa Duho Suho be ridiculous at the present day, but that does not justify the Babu in taking advantage of the extreme fertility of the area to screw up the rents too high now.

501. In a former chapter I have shown that both revenue sales and partitions have been very few in number in this district, therefore the influence of these two factors, which have played so important a part in facilitating enhancement of rent-rate in Mazaffarpur, have not operated in Champaran, and before the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act, it was by means of *abwab* that enhancement was, it appears, mainly obtained.

502. A variety of *abwab* find a place in the old *jamabandis* of the Bettia Raj, and to give an idea of their extent, I will describe some of them. Foremost, *batalat sahi*, or the discount on the old sicca rupees at the rate of one anna or so per rupee. Then we always meet with *hisabana* and *kagazati* at the respective rates of one to two annas and three to six pies, the former being the fee of the patwari for making up the accounts and the latter to meet the cost of paper. Then came *raesi* and *chak'la* at the rate of 3 to 6 pies each to make up the pay of the *reis* and the *chakladar*, who was appointed for each tappa, or a similar area, by the Raj, to settle the boundary or internal disputes in his jurisdiction. *Thana kharach*, as the name denotes, was the contribution from each tenant towards the expenses incurred on the occasion of a visit by the police, and *nasarana* and *bhojni* were paid to big Raj officials; the former in cash as a present, and the latter in kind for food subsequently converted into money, if unpaid, when they happened to go to the village. *Chumawan* was realised when there was any marriage in the Raj family, and *madati* and *chanda* were subscriptions raised for the benefit of any village or Raj official. *Hatia* was the fee of the weigher for the whole village and *amini* of the amin deputed

Enhancements obtained by means of *abwab*.

Abwab mentioned in old *jamabandis* of Bettia Raj.

to appraise crops in *bhaoli* fields or sent on similar errands. There were no fixed rates for imposts like *thana kharack* and the others described thereafter. In addition to these were *sudi*, *adhasia*, *asia*, *dedhasia* and *finania*, denoting the several rates of interests or compensation which the raiyat had to pay on default in a particular *kist*. Finally come a number of *sairat* (not *abwab* in the strict sense of the term). They were (1) *jalkar*, (2) *falkar*, (3) *jangal* or *bankar*, (4) *ghal*, (5) *bazaar*, (6) *nimakair*, (7) *bandh behri*, (8) *motaharfa* and (9) *chautidari*. These are too well known to require detailed explanation. It will be noticed that most of the *abwab* (not *sairat*) were for the benefit of the underlings of the Raj and not of the Raj itself. After the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act, *abwab* were all consolidated with the rent, and having been paid for so many years, they are now part and parcel of it impossible to disentangle. One attempt was made by raiyats, sued for enhancement of rents under section 30 to disentangle them, but it did not succeed. The only cess of the kind that is now realised with regularity all over the district is *pharkawan*, similar to the old *hisabana* being the patwari's fee for writing out receipts and *pharkhaties*. It is generally levied at the rate of one anna per rupee of rent and in some cases, notably in tappa Doho Suho, at the rate of four annas per bigha. In the villages of the Turkaulia concern, it is realised direct by the landlord along with rent, and the patwari gets a fixed salary from the factory. But the general rule is that it goes to the patwari direct just as it is realised. The *dawat puja* is also a cess for the patwari, but is not by custom obligatory. The well-to-do give him four annas to Re. 1 purely as a matter of favour. On the occasion of the *dawat puja* festival the patwari worships his *dawat* or ink-pot on the 17th of Kartik, the 2nd month of the Fasli year, and he is forbidden to touch pen and ink on that day. The prohibition extends to men of Kayasth caste only. Embankment cess and dak cess are often realised from the raiyats at $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee, but these, I think, close the list of the illegal cesses now imposed in this district.

503. In the following statement the relative incidence of revenue and rent, pargana by pargana, is compared :—

NAME OF PARGANA	Total area in acres.	Revenue.	Rate per acre.	Total raiyat area (excluding rent free).	Rent.	Rate per acre.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Majhaua	1,781,727	396,462	0 3 8	1,068,879	18,30,997 0 0	1 11 7	
Mehsi	225,377	100,684	0 7 9	154,258	3,86,358 0 0	2 5 0	
Semraon	122,661	19,407	0 3 8	101,202	2,30,071 0 0	2 3 7	
Total	2,079,815	515,553	0 4 6	1,324,339	24,43,426 0 0	1 13 9	

I have not split up the figures thana by thana because in dealing with such large estates as exist in this district a thanawar apportionment of the revenue would be very arbitrary and perhaps misleading. The revenue has been compared with the total area of the parganas (excluding the unsurveyed portion of Majhaua) and the rent with the *raiya* area only. It is striking that revenue instead of being nine-tenths of rent as was the proportion sanctioned by the permanent settlement, is about one-fiftieth. But the difference between the rates per acre is not so great. The rate of rent is only seven times that of revenue, the figures being Re. 1-13-9 and four annas respectively. Both the rates are the highest in Mehsi, and if the jungle tract were included, the revenue rate like the rent-rate would be lowest in Majhaua. The difference in rate of revenue between Mehsi and Semraon, two adjacent parganas, where, too, rent-rates are approximately the same, is most marked. It is without doubt due to the fact that north Dhaka, which comprises pargana Semraon was, like Adapur, mainly reclaimed at a later date.

Variation of existing rent-rates in the different thanas for different classes of raiyats.

504. I shall conclude this section with a few remarks on the variation in existing rent-rates thana by thana, which are set forth in the following statement:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	FIXED RATES.			OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.			NON-OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.		
		Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.
1	Bagaha	1,039	1,074	1 0 6	168,409	2,66,221	1 9 8	8,825	14,235	1 9 10
2	Shikarpur	1,411	1,214	0 13 6	209,777	5,80,446	1 10 4	8,616	5,742	1 9 5
3	Bettia	4,861	4,599	0 15 1	207,490	5,45,756	1 10 8	16,578	29,915	1 11 11
	Bettia subdivision	7,339	6,893	0 15 0	576,076	9,44,423	1 10 3	29,011	48,890	1 10 11
4	Adapur	1,122	961	0 13 5	109,315	2,27,002	2 1 2	821	806	2 1 10
5	Dhaka	4,933	7,631	1 8 9	160,813	4,02,550	2 8 1	877	2,340	2 11 3
6	Motihari	2,230	2,030	0 14 8	120,751	2,00,492	1 11 4	2,410	4,445	1 14 10
7	Gobindganj	2,789	2,063	0 11 10	111,229	2,09,258	1 14 8	2,993	5,094	1 14 5
8	Kesaria	7,593	9,373	1 3 10	131,023	2,31,260	1 13 3	2,409	5,300	2 8 8
9	Madhuban	821	1,792	2 1 2	60,190	1,52,281	2 11 3	543	1,841	2 6 3
	Sadar subdivision	19,464	23,740	1 4 4	674,201	14,18,843	2 1 5	9,613	20,649	2 9 4
	District Total	26,863	30,632	1 2 3	1,265,007	23,63,266	1 14 1	39,624	69,538	1 12 10

Serial number	NAME OF THANA.	TOTAL			UNDER RAIYATS.			Density per square mile.	REMARKS.
		Area.	Rent.	Rate.	Area.	Rent.	Rate.		
		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
		Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.		
1	Bagaha	178,361	2,83,528	1 9 5	1,784	4,758	2 10 8	304	
2	Shikarpur	205,831	5,37,402	1 10 2	836	1,943	1 12 9	274	
3	Bettia	228,434	5,79,266	1 10 6	3,489	6,228	1 12 11	623	
	Bettia subdivision	613,026	10,00,096	1 10 1	6,059	12,480	2 0 10	377	
4	Adapur	110,18	2,28,749	2 0 1	298	853	1 14 8	747	
5	Dhaka	160,629	4,12,547	2 7 7	470	1,228	2 9 7	603	
6	Motihari	125,371	2,13,166	1 11 5	1,103	1,214	1 1 8	690	
7	Gobindganj	117,611	2,17,006	1 13 11	1,042	4,110	2 1 10	658	
8	Kesaria	139,995	2,35,939	1 12 9	1,152	2,409	2 1 9	681	
9	Madhuban	87,544	1,55,821	2 11 4	417	1,439	3 5 8	840	
	Sadar subdivision	708,368	14,01,280	2 1 0	5,391	11,967	2 0 8	724	
	District Total	13,21,394	24,65,429	1 13 9	11,460	23,486	2 8 10	607	

505. The Sadar subdivision comes out with a higher rate than Bettia.

This holds good in the case of all classes of raiyats in a state of things perfectly in accord with known facts. Among thanas, Madhuban, on the Tirhut border, heads the list with Rs. 2-1 2 per acre, followed though at a distance by another thana similarly situated, viz., Dhaka, which has Re. 1-8-9 per acre. Kesaria, the southernmost, comes next with Re. 1-3-10. In all other cases, the rate is below Re. 1, except in Bagaha, where it is 6 pies higher, the area held by this class of raiyats being, however, very small there. I need hardly add that Shikarpur closes the list with the lowest rate, at annas 13-6 only.

506. The next class in the ascending scale of numerical importance is that of non-occupancy raiyats. The lead is taken by

Madhuban, with a rate at Rs. 3-6-3 per acre, Dhaka and Kesaria coming next in order, with Rs. 2-11-2 and Rs. 2-3-3, respectively. Adapur is a near fourth, with Rs. 2-1-10 per acre. The central thanas of Bettia, Motihari and Gobindganj average between Re. 1-11-11 and Re. 1-14-10 per acre. Bagaha follows them all, with Re. 1-9-10 per acre, Shikarpur again bringing up the rear, with Re. 1-9-5 only.

507. So far, we have touched on only the fringe of the Champaran peasantry, the mass of whom are settled or occu-

pancy raiyats. Here Bettia subdivision returns a rent-rate of Re. 1-10-2, as against Rs. 2-1-5 in the Sadar. Thana Madhuban,

the home of petty proprietors of Champaran, once more returns the highest rate of Rs. 2-11-3 per acre, and is once more followed by its sister thana of Dhaka with a rate of Rs. 2-8-1 per acre. Adapur, which has the largest area of the Madhuban Babu within its borders, stands third, having a rate of Rs. 2-1-2 only.

508. Adapur is by far the most uniformly fertile thana in the district. It is clear then that rates do not in this district to the same extent as in those more advanced vary with the class of soil, and density of population affords hardly a safer guide, for then Kesaria should be the next thana in order, whereas it follows Gobindganj, and with a low rate of Re. 1-13 per acre. The reason for the low rate in Kesaria is that it is largely inhabited by the higher castes—Babans and Rajputs—who hold at privileged rates, and the Bettia Raj being without any previous measurements, lost several of their applications for increase of rent which were contested. Consequently, those compromised were compromised on terms very favourable to the raiyats. In Gobindganj, on the other hand, which is within the carefully managed *dehat* of Turkaulia, there have been two general measurements, followed by assessment of excess lands, within the last decade—one by the factory itself, and the other during the cadastral survey. The Gobindganj raiyat, therefore, has practically no excess land unassessed. The consequence is that Gobindganj comes out with a slightly higher rate than Kesaria, viz., Re. 1-14-3 per acre. From here northwards the rate follows the geographical order: it is Re. 1-11-4 in Motihari coming down to Re. 1-10-8 in Bettia, Re. 1-10-4 in Shikarpur, and Re. 1-9-2 in Bagaha. According to preconceived ideas the rent-rates, low as they are, are higher than might have been expected in the two northern thanas. But we must not lose sight of those portions of them which we have excluded from survey, and where rents are at the lowest level imaginable. In thana Bagaha, the surveyed portion of which runs with the Gandak from north-west to south-east, the low rates of the north in tappa Rajpur Sehoria are more than met by the much higher rates in the south, specially round Bagaha itself, where sugarcane fields are assessed very highly. In Shikarpur, on the other hand, the excluded area forms the much larger proportion than in Bagaha. Its soil, where cultivated, is extremely fertile and yields a large quantity of paddy. But without doubt in both these thanas the thikadars who are for the most part rent speculators have forced the rates higher than they would otherwise have been.

509. The statistics of rent-rates for under-raiyats require little comment, because the under-raiyats are few in number and two-thirds of their area do not pay cash rents at all. The highest rate, Rs. 3-5-8, is returned by Madhuban, where agricultural conditions are most congested.

510. In the following statement the percentage of area held by each class of raiyat on cash and produce rents is given. The proportion of produce to cash rents is given thana by thana:—

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	SETTLED OR OCCUPANCY RAIYATS					NON-OCCUPANCY RAIYATS					UNDER-RAIYATS.					REMARKS
		Total Area in acres.	Cash-paying.		Produce-paying.		Total Area.	Cash-paying.		Produce-paying.		Total Area.	Cash-paying.		Produce-paying.		
			Area.	Percentage to column 3.	Area.	Percentage to column 5.		Area.	Percentage to column 7.	Area.	Percentage to column 9.		Area.	Percentage to column 11.	Area.	Percentage to column 13.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	Baraha	174,970	168,694	96	6,276	3	11,816	8,871	75	2,945	25	4,960	1,784	36	3,176	64	
2	Shikarpur	200,221	200,777	100	4,455	2	4,130	3,611	88	519	12	3,302	2,000	60	1,302	39	
3	Bettia	215,571	207,600	96	7,971	4	20,900	16,573	79	4,327	21	7,322	3,600	49	3,722	51	
	Subdivision	680,673	678,074	98	22,597	4	36,746	29,055	79	7,691	21	14,590	8,020	55	6,570	45	
4	Adapur	116,978	109,515	93	7,463	7	603	501	83	102	17	3,577	288	8	3,289	92	
5	Dhaka	186,074	180,613	97	5,461	3	1,104	877	79	227	21	2,601	470	18	2,131	82	
6	Motihari	123,691	120,781	98	2,910	2	852	2,410	68	442	52	1,604	1,002	62	602	38	
7	Gobindganj	118,089	111,229	94	6,860	6	3,703	2,303	62	1,400	38	6,319	1,993	31	4,326	69	
8	Kesaria	126,511	121,023	96	5,488	4	3,921	2,400	61	1,521	39	3,505	1,195	34	2,310	66	
9	Madhuban	59,020	56,180	95	2,840	5	615	540	88	75	12	1,721	647	38	1,074	62	
	Sub-division	716,702	679,591	95	37,111	5	12,065	9,015	74	3,050	25	8,050	5,391	67	2,659	33	
	DISTRICT TOTAL	1,814,465	1,726,267	95	88,198	5	40,807	30,791	75	10,016	25	25,527	11,460	45	14,067	55	

It will be seen that less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the area held by settled and occupancy raiyats, who absorb more than $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of the cultivated land, pays rents in kind. Produce-rents therefore are of little importance in the district, and a detailed description of their varieties is uncalled for. The ordinary system is actual division of the crop half and half. If this is made on the threshing floor it is called *aghor batai*. If it is made in the field it is called *bujh batai*, the actual *bujhas* or bundles being divided. There is a further variety characteristic of this district, called *batai tikuli*, wherein the crop is divided in the proportion of 2 to the raiyat and 1 to the landlord. This arrangement is usually resorted to where land has to be reclaimed, and sometimes when it is unfertile and therefore unremunerative on other terms. Division by appraisement is called *batai kankut*. Though more advantageous to the landlord as affording less opening for pilfering, it is not common. To the *manhunda* or *mankhap* system I have already referred. It consists in a rent fixed at so many maunds of grain on either specified plots or a certain proportion of the holding. I have explained in the Muzaffarpur report that the system is rigid, oppressive, and very unpopular. The traders and mahajans of Motihari attempt to acquire lands and lease them out on these terms. The system is met with mainly in Adapur, where it is found to be more profitable than indigo cultivation. There is nothing good to be said for it, and had the law authorised me to take the initiative, I should have commuted all such rents into cash.

511. But it is very noticeable how small the total area held on produce rents is for a backward district like Champaran. This remark does not apply to non-occupancy and under-raiyats, for 22 per cent. of the area under the former class and 65 per cent. of that under the latter pay rents in kind. The proportion of the cultivated area held by these two classes is, however, very inconsiderable. Of the occupancy area, less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is held on produce rents. There are two main reasons: most of the district is held by big zamindars: any system of produce rent requires constant supervision, and this entails the employment of an expensive mufassal staff. In extensive properties the system is costly and never works satisfactorily. The second reason is the influence of indigo planters. They are the landlords of a considerable area in the district, and of course favour a stable and enlightened rent system. Still it is noticeable that the proportion of occupancy area under produce rents is nearly 5 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision, while it is only 4 per cent. in the Bettia subdivision. No doubt there is a tendency for produce rents to be more prevalent where proprietors are petty. Thus the percentage under produce rents is larger in Muzaffarpur than Champaran. Again, where the population is more congested, cultivators will settle on produce rents for lands the crops of which are precarious. But in the case of Champaran there are also some special forces in operation. The Sadar percentage is high, owing to the high percentage in thanas Adapur, Motihari and Gobindganj. The two latter are largely owned by the Motihari and Turkaulia factories, and they stood out firmly for the 'entry as *batai* of little plots in the neighbourhood of village sites, which more liberal zamindars allow to go in as part of the homestead. They went to the length of bringing objections and disputes for such lands. The cultivators, of course, compromised. The reason for the large produce rent area in Adapur I have partially explained in describing the *Hunda* system. It merely remains to add that the mahajans and traders of Motihari, when they attempt to get land to sublet on the *Hunda* system, seek it in Adapur thana, because its soil produces the kind of rice, of which they are particularly fond. It will be seen that in the proportion of non-occupancy and under-raiyat's area held on produce rents, Adapur again heads the list, and it is the same reason that operates. It is found too, though in a minor degree, in Dhaka, where the percentages also are high. Were the percentages of the total cultivated area held by these two classes large, the matter would be serious. Fortunately it is very small.

THE TRANSFER OF OCCUPANCY RIGHTS.

512. Statistics of the transfer by sale of proprietary rights and of the transfers by sale and mortgage of occupancy rights were compiled by the Assistant Settlement Officers during attestation, and are furnished in Appendix VIII. Those relating to

Varities of produce-rents.

Field of inquiry.

occupancy rights will be first considered. Here, as in Musaffarpur, the work was unfortunately not undertaken from the commencement of the operations. Consequently it was confined to only 17 per cent. of the *raiya* area of the three thanas, Bettia, Motihari and Gobindganj. For the remaining thanas it was complete. The percentages for incomplete thanas have been worked out in the area for which enquiries were made not for the whole area, and can be assumed to be roughly applicable to the whole.

513. • In all, 4,393 sales covering 10,608 acres and 14,497 mortgages of

Sales and mortgages.

25,235 acres were recorded. Of the total area transferred, viz. 35,843 acres, 10,013 acres covered whole holdings and 25,830 part holdings. Of the former, 4,991 acres were sold and 5,022 mortgaged: similarly, for the latter, the figures are 5,617 acres by sale and 20,213 by mortgage. Thus it is seen that the area sold is less than half the area mortgaged, and part transfers cover more than double the area of entire ones.

514. Of the transferees, 654, or 3·4 per cent. were landlords, 70, or ·3, lawyers, 7,713, or 40·8, money-lenders, and the rest 10,453, or 55·3 *raiya*s. The very large percentage

Classes of transferees.

of money-lenders is noticeable.

515. Coming to price paid on sale and sum advanced on mortgage, we

Marketable value of occupancy rights.

find an amount of Rs. 3,59,279 paid in sales, giving a rate per acre of Rs. 33-13-10, and Rs. 10,70,712 advanced on mortgage, or Rs. 42-12-7 per acre. The rate for both kinds of transfer is therefore Rs. 40-2-4. It is seen, then, that not only are mortgages twice as numerous as sales, but that the sums advanced on them are higher than the prices realised on sales.

Reasons for the greater popularity of mortgages.

516. The reasons were given in the Annual Report for 1896-97, and I reproduce what was then said:—

“The *raiya*, who has mortgaged his holding or part of it, can always cherish the hope of being able some day to redeem it; and the money-lender also, as a rule, much prefers a mortgage with possession to a sale. In the first place, it keeps the *raiya* in his power. The money-lender does not want to ruin the *raiya* outright and drive him away from the village but to keep him there as long as possible, and make as much out of him as he can. In the second place, the transferee, who acquires a holding by sale, usually has considerable trouble before he can get himself recognised by the landlord. He either has to pay a heavy *salami*, or, if the landlord is an indigo planter, he may be called on to execute an agreement to grow indigo on the best land of the holding for a considerable term of years. Perhaps the landlord will not allow a person whom he considers to be a professional money-lender to acquire any occupancy rights in his villages, and in that case the transferee has to bring a suit in the Civil Court for possession.”

In a recent case of this kind brought by a money-lender living in Motihari who had purchased the occupancy rights of a *raiya* in a village belonging to Rajpur factory, the High Court held that the factory had the right to refuse to let the transferee cultivate the land and pay rent for it, and that in the villages belonging to the factory, occupancy rights were not transferable without the landlord's consent. This is the position which the Civil Courts have generally adopted, and it has been strengthened by a more recent decision of the High Court, reported on page 355, Indian Law Reports, cxxiv, 1897, in which it was held that, in the absence of any custom to the contrary, occupancy rights are not saleable without the consent of the landlord at the instance of any creditor of the *raiya*, except the landlord himself suing for arrears of rent. The transferee by sale is thus entirely in the hands of the landlord who can either refuse to recognise him altogether or can exact any terms he pleases from him as a condition of recognition. To continue from the annual report:—

“On the other hand, the transferee, who gets a mortgage with possession, has none of these difficulties to contend with. The rent is still nominally paid by the old tenant, and the landlord, in the majority of cases, knows nothing about the transaction. Even if he gets to hear of it, it is very difficult for him to do anything, as the *raiya* and the *mahajan*, acting in collusion, can easily outwit him. Meanwhile the creditor retains his hold on the debtor, he can either cultivate the land himself or, as is more usual, he lets it out to the former *raiya*, at an exorbitant produce rent.”

517. In short, then, 8·5 per cent. of the area, affecting 13·5 per cent. of the holdings, has changed hands in the district during the last decade, and the full significance of these figures cannot be realised until we compare them with similar figures for Muzaffarpur:—

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Area held by raiyats in the villages in which enquiries were made.	Number of holdings in the villages in which enquiries were made.	NUMBER OF TRANSFERS.			AREA TRANSFERRED.			NUMBER OF TRANSFERS PER HUNDRED HOLDINGS.			PERCENTAGE OF AREA TRANSFERRED.			REMARKS.
				By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.							
1	Champan ...	900,777	264,345	4,893	14,407	19,800	10,008	25,935	35,843	4	10	14	1	3	4	
2	Muzaffarpur	861,365	447,387	3,255	11,406	14,661	3,672	19,877	14,519	7	9	16	0·4	1	2	

It is thus seen that in Muzaffarpur there is less than 1 sale (·7 only) and only 3·2 mortgages per 100 holdings, against 4 and 9·5, respectively, in Champan; the total percentage being only 3·2 in Muzaffarpur, against 13·5 in Champan, a fourfold difference. In area, again, we find 1·4 per cent. sold in Champan, against only ·4 in Muzaffarpur and 2·5 mortgaged in the former, against only 1·2 in the latter. In other words, the Champan area sold is nearly three times and that mortgaged more than double that of Muzaffarpur. An examination of classes to which the land is passing affords no extenuation to the gravity of these results, as the following statement will show:—

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	Total number of transfers.	NUMBER OF TRANSFERS TO—								AREA TRANSFERRED—		
			Landlords.		Lawyers.		Money-lenders.		Raiyats.		By sale.		
			Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Price paid.	Rate per acre.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Champan ..	19,800	674	3	70	13	7,713	41	10,453	55	10,608	8,50,970	35 13 10
2	Muzaffarpur ..	14,661	1,120	8	102	7	1,902	13	11,510	79	3,67	2,05,082	55 14 1
													Rs. A. P.

Serial number.	NAME OF DISTRICT.	PRICE PAID—						HIGHEST RATE PER ACRE.		LOWEST RATE PER ACRE.		
		By mortgage.			By both sale and mortgage.			By sale.	By mortgage.	By sale.	By mortgage.	REMARKS.
		Area.	Price paid.	Rate per acre.	Area.	Price paid.	Rate per acre.					
		16	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
		Acres.		Rs. A. P.	Acres.		Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1	Champan ..	25,235	10,79,713	42 12 7	35,815	14,38,992	40	21,428 2 6	1,300 0 0	2 14 0	1 8 0	
2	Muzaffarpur ..	10,517	4,82,728	44 6 2	14,517	6,87,867	47	257 8 0	120 0 7	9 13 1	5 0 11	

In both districts, landlords and lawyers are in the minority in this respect, though they account for double the area in Muzaffarpur that they do in Champan, the percentages being 3·4 to landlords and ·3 to lawyers in Champan, against 7·6 and ·7, respectively, in Muzaffarpur. But it is in the proportion of raiyats and money-lenders that the two districts very widely diverge. In Muzaffarpur raiyats account for no less than 78·6 per cent. of the transfers, against only 55·3 in Champan, while the money-lenders absorb only 12·9 per cent in Muzaffarpur, as against the very high proportion of 40·2 per cent in

Champanan. There is not much difference between the two districts in price, an acre fetching Rs. 47 in the former, against Rs. 40 in the latter. But in Muzaffarpur, where proprietors are petty and the usage of free transfer by sale is yearly growing more common, the anomaly of sales fetching a lower price than the sum advanced in mortgages is not met with. The sale rate is Rs. 55 per acre, the mortgage rate only Rs. 44.

The thana statistics. 518. To localise the exact state of affairs with accuracy the thana statistics will now be considered:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total number of ryotwari khataias.	Total area held by ryotwari.	NUMBER OF TRANSFERS.			NUMBER OF TRANSFERS PER HUNDRED HOLDINGS.			TOTAL AREA TRANSFERRED.						REMARKS.
				By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.		By mortgage.		Total.		
										Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
			Acres.							Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		
1	Bagaha ..	53,980	189,293	511	741	953	3	1	3	1,734	1	1,664	1	3,398		
2	Shikarpur ...	61,465	210,431	667	5,317	5,984	1	6	8	2,230	1	7,482	3	9,712	4	
3	Bettia ...	11,974	48,867	307	1,158	1,525	3	10	13	734	3	2,073	5	2,807		
	Bettia sub-division.	117,400	454,831	1,315	5,216	6,531	1	4	6	4,003	1	10,080	3	14,378	3	
4	Adapur ..	20,004	120,785	501	2,001	2,502	3	8	10	1,000	1	4,232	4	5,232	4	
5	Dhaka ...	46,578	178,236	1,513	3,434	4,947	3	7	11	2,928	3	4,941	3	7,869	4	
6	Motihari ..	3,773	17,407	143	310	453	4	8	12	230	1	461	3	691	4	
7	Gobindganj ..	6,345	26,996	111	515	626	2	8	10	323	1	1,044	4	1,430	5	
	Kesaria ...	40,110	140,738	408	1,903	2,311	1	5	6	642	4	2,541	3	3,183	2	
	Madhuban ...	22,026	60,606	474	1,690	2,164	2	4	6	683	1	1,272	2	1,955	3	
	Sadar sub-division.	146,930	544,946	3,118	9,241	12,429	2	0	2	5,913	1	14,556	3	20,470	4	
	Total ..	3,64,143	1,271,777	4,393	14,407	18,800	2	6	7	10,604	1	26,273	3	35,943	4	

In the Bettia subdivision we find 5,216 transfers, or 5·5 per 100 holdings, affecting 15,373 acres, or 3·38 per cent., whereas in the Sadar the figures for holdings are 12,429, or 8·4 per cent., and for area 20,470, or 3·59. Considering that the agricultural conditions in certain portions of the Bettia subdivision are still very undeveloped, the Bettia figures are surprising, but I think they were inflated owing to the fact of their compilation just before and after the famine of 1897. Coming to thanas, we find the largest number of transfers per hundred khatians in Bettia, Motihari, and Gobindganj, where money-lenders are most numerous, but the percentages of these thanas must be considered subject to the qualification that they were compiled for less than one-fifth of the area. Dhaka and Adapur come next, with percentages of 10·5 and 9·9 respectively. They are both accessible to the mahajans of Segauli and Motihari, to whom unfortunately their rich paddy land is more than usually tempting. In all other thanas except Bagaha the percentage ranges between 5 and 7, but it is striking that Shikarpur has 7·7, against 5·7 in Kesaria. The famine no doubt was largely the cause of the high proportion in Shikarpur, but only partially, however, for Bagaha, in the northern part of which also the famine was severe, returns only 1·3 per cent. It is noticeable that in almost all thanas

the number of mortgages is four or five times as large as that of sales. Again, looking at area, we find the area mortgaged to be double that sold in both subdivisions. The total area transferred is over 5 per cent. of the *raiya* area in thana Gobindganj, over 4 in Adapur, Dhaka and Shikarpur, over 3 in Motihari and Madhuban, and over 2 in Kesaria and over 1 in Bagaha. Adapur and Dhaka are again high in the list, also Shikarpur. The reasons have already been given.

519. Of the area transferred 64 per cent. in Bettia and 77 in Sadar are made up of part transfers, indicating that it is as a last resort that the agriculturists transfer the entirety of their holdings. It is only in Bagaha and Gobindganj that the number and area of whole holdings transferred is very large, but in the former the total area transferred is insignificant, viz., 1·7 per cent. of the whole, and in the latter the enquiries were not made in the whole thana. The statement, thana by thana, discriminating part from entire transfers is subjoined:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area held by raiya.	AREA OF ENTIRE HOLD- INGS TRANSFERRED.			AREA OF PART HOLD- INGS TRANSFERRED.			TOTAL AREA TRANSFERRED.			PERCENT- AGE TO COLUMN 10.		PERCENT- AGE TO COLUMN 11.		PERCENT- AGE TO COLUMN 12.		REMARKS.
			By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	Of column 4.	Of column 7.	Of column 4.	Of column 8.	Of column 4.	Of column 8.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.							
1	Bagaha ...	180,903	1,452	823	1,975	272	1,045	1,317	1,724	1,568	3,292	84	16	33	67	60	40	
2	Shikarpur ...	219,481	1,101	1,597	2,698	1,134	5,452	6,576	2,235	7,039	9,274	49	51	23	77	29	76	
3	Bettia	45,357	203	460	760	441	1,807	2,048	734	3,073	2,907	40	60	23	78	27	73	
	Bettia sub- division.	454,831	2,845	2,886	5,433	1,857	8,094	9,041	4,693	10,689	15,373	61	39	24	76	35	65	
4	Adapur	120,785	371	810	1,181	219	3,422	4,141	1,090	4,233	5,323	34	60	19	81	22	78	
5	Dhaka ...	178,236	946	757	1,743	1,042	4,184	6,126	2,028	4,941	7,869	34	66	16	86	22	78	
6	Motihari ...	17,497	43	62	105	177	809	576	230	461	681	10	81	13	87	15	85	
7	Gobindganj ...	24,994	237	315	572	115	753	864	352	1,085	1,430	67	33	31	69	40	60	
8	Kesaria ...	140,750	103	212	374	480	2,360	2,849	642	2,581	3,223	32	78	8	92	12	88	
9	Madhuban	60,096	246	260	606	337	1,012	1,349	623	1,272	1,955	51	49	20	80	21	79	
	Sadar sub- division.	544,946	2,145	2,438	4,581	3,770	12,110	16,880	5,918	24,556	20,470	36	64	17	83	23	77	
	District Total	999,777	4,991	5,028	10,013	5,617	20,213	25,830	19,608	25,235	35,843	47	53	20	80	26	74	

520. In the Sadar subdivision, where mahajans are numerous, they account for 44 per cent. of the transfers, against 33·8 in Bettia. It is in thanas Motihari, Gobindganj, Adapur and Dhaka that they are chiefly in the ascendant.

The thana statistics of classes of transfers.

The landlords account for transfers most largely in Bagaha, Shikarpur, Gobindganj and Madhuban. In Bagaha and Shikarpur there are few mahajans. In Gobindganj the chief landlord is an indigo concern, which probably retains for indigo cultivation *raiya* holdings bought in. In the fourth—Madhuban—petty proprietors are abundant.

521. Turning to the price paid on transfer by sale, we find from the following statement that it is highest in Motihari thana, viz., Rs. 71-6-8. Motihari town being the district head-quarters, the land in its vicinity has a fictitious value. This is probably the reason. Adapur, which comes next with a sale rate of Rs. 59, owes its position to the intrinsic fertility of its soil. Then come Madhuban (Rs. 46-15-6) and Dhaka (Rs. 42-11-6 per acre). In Gobindganj and Kesaria the sale rate is very low, perhaps owing to the discouragement to this form of alienation given by indigo-planters. In Bagaha

the rate per acre is only Rs. 10-8-11 and in Shikarpur Rs. 10-13-2, but in these thanas there is a large supply of land and no demand:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total number of trans- fers.	LANDLORD.		LAWYERS.		MONEY- LENDERS.		RAIYATS.		TOTAL AREA TRANSFERRED.		
			Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	Number.	Percentage to total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
											Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1	Bagaha	958	48	5	20	8	310	34	585	58	9,774	1,568	3,801
2	Shikarpur	3,064	199	6	22	1	1,301	35	2,378	60	8,244	7,080	9,974
3	Bettia	1,175	23	2	7	4	477	31	1,000	66	744	2,073	3,807
	Bettia subdivision	4,401	261	6	54	1	2,187	34	3,953	61	4,693	10,800	18,873
4	Adapur	2,592	36	1	6	3	1,269	49	1,321	49	1,090	4,336	5,373
5	Dhaka	4,947	90	2	3	04	2,224	45	2,681	53	2,028	4,941	7,889
6	Motihari	462	10	2			276	60	170	34	280	461	681
7	Gobindganj	636	37	6	3	04	319	51	247	29	342	1,068	1,680
8	Kemaria	3,346	65	2			870	30	1,434	62	643	2,681	3,323
9	Madhuban	1,493	118	8	1	07	618	41	759	51	643	1,373	1,936
	Sadar Division Total	13,429	373	3	12		5,626	44	6,518	52	6,918	16,655	20,470
	DISTRICT TOTAL	18,800	654	3	70		7,711	41	10,463	56	10,608	24,338	28,648

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	PRICE PAID FOR AREA TRANSFERRED.			RATE PER ACRE FOR LAND TRANSFERRED.			HIGHEST RATE PER ACRE.		LOWEST RATE PER ACRE.		REMARKS.
		By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	By sale.	By mortgage.	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Bagaha	17,661	42,814	60,475	19 3 11	27 4 10	18 5 11	000 0 0	240 0 0	4 4 0	4 0 0	
2	Shikarpur	44,304	2,77,080	3,21,383	19 13 2	89 0 1	31 10 8	1,400 0 0	1,213 5 0	3 10 0	1 8 0	
3	Bettia	24,020	10,310	1,19,540	10 0 1	45 9 0	42 11 8	500 0 0	410 0 0	4 0 0	10 0 0	
	Bettia subdivision	91,607	4,10,313	5,01,920	19 8 3	38 6 8	32 10 4	1,400 0 0	1,243 5 0	3 10 0	1 8 0	
4	Adapur	64,353	1,05,003	2,69,356	59 0 7	56 3 8	48 13 2	8 1 0 0	1,126 0 0	4 4 0	3 8 0	
5	Dhaka	1,25,024	2,91,845	4,16,869	42 11 6	50 1 0	52 15 9	800 0 0	1,200 0 0	9 0 0	7 0 0	
6	Motihari	15,712	25,608	41,320	71 6 8	56 11 10	60 12 11	1,200 0 0	3,600 0 0	10 0 0	8 0 0	
7	Gobindganj	12,038	36,001	48,039	35 14 6	33 12 3	34 4 8	700 0 0	900 0 0	13 0 0	14 0 0	
8	Kemaria	17,767	21,609	39,376	27 11 3	27 11 8	27 11 4	2,112 0 0	640 0 0	7 0 0	0 0 0	
9	Madhuban	32,048	48,064	80,112	40 15 0	34 4 4	41 5 0	91 128 2 0	1,385 0 0	2 10 0	5 0 0	
	Sadar Division Total	2,07,672	6,09,460	9,37,072	45 4 1	45 15 10	46 7 7	21,480 2 0	1,500 0 0	3 16 0	3 8 0	
	DISTRICT TOTAL	3,50,279	10,79,713	14,38,062	33 13 10	42 13 7	49 2 4	21,420 2 0	1,500 0 0	3 16 0	1 8 0	

522 Taking individual instances of sale, the highest price paid in the district is an extraordinary one, viz., at the rate of Rs. 21,428-2 per acre in Madhuban, no doubt for a small patch of land close to homestead. The lowest price also, viz., Rs. 2-14, is returned by the same thana. The highest rates per acre of sums advanced on mortgage are entered against Dhaka, Adapur and Motihari, Bettia following close behind. Bagaha, with Rs. 27-4-10, closes the list.

523. I have quoted the observation contained in Doctor Hunter's Statistical account of Champaran that "hardly any land was held by tenants with a right of occupancy under Act X of 1859." This was in 1876, and it is fairly certain that the transfer of occupancy right in Champaran for a money consideration was practically unknown prior to the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act. It would be reasonable to find a large number of transfers by abandonment and surrender in a district like Champaran where land is plentiful and tenant-right still little understood, but that sales and mortgages should be so numerous, and that so large a proportion of these should take place in the interests of money-lenders is not a good sign, and is moreover very difficult to comprehend. For there can be no district in Bengal where landlords by virtue of their influence and by virtue of recognised custom, supporting

by legal rulings, have more control over the alienation of tenant-right. There is not an indigo planter who would not say that he regards the mahajan as a blight and a curse. Yet it is in the district where these big zamindaris lie, where these planters are most in the ascendant, that alienation of tenant-right appears to be most practised. I have heard it alleged that factories in point of fact will recognise any person as tenant who pays the *salami* or agrees to grow indigo. It would appear from the foregoing that there must be some truth in the statement. If they subordinate to a desire for indigo their prerogative for the protection of the cultivator and the confusion of the money-lender, which law and custom have conferred on them, they abandon the position in virtue of which they are entitled to retain that prerogative, namely, that its exercise is for the public good.

Transfer by sale of proprietary rights.

524. The transfers by sale of proprietary rights are in Champaran necessarily very unimportant. The enquiries disclosed only 51 transfers, affecting an area of 6,913 acres, for which Rs. 1,61,205 was paid, giving a rate of Rs. 23-5-1 per acre. Twenty-four of the transferees were landlords and 27 money-lenders, raiyats finding no place amongst them. Madhuban and Kesaria account for 14 and 16 transfers respectively, Dhaka coming next with 5. It is in these three thanas that petty proprietors are found. Everywhere else the Bettia estate and other big zamindars are predominant.

CHAPTER III.

INDIGO.

525. The cultivation of indigo on European methods, which was started in Muzaffarpur by Mr. F. Grand, the Collector in 1782, does not appear to have been introduced into Champaran until 30 years later, when in 1813 after the close of the Nipal war, Colonel Hickey founded a factory at Bara. Soon after, the Rajpur and Turkaulia concerns were started by Messrs. Moran and Hill respectively, and later on, in 1845, Captain Taylor built Siraha. In those days, however, the main industry of the European was sugar and not indigo. The Collector in 1816, writing of the indigenous products of his districts, omits even the mention of indigo, but a successor, writing in 1830, speaks of the authorities being "able to avail themselves of the assistance of the indigo planters spread over a large extent of country." Sugar, however, continued to be a flourishing industry, until about 1850, and the Revenue Surveyor of 1847 makes frequent mention of steam sugar factories scattered through several parganas of the district. There was one at Mirpur, now an outwork of the Motihari indigo concern. A few years later, however, sugar appears to have been entirely replaced by indigo.

526. In Champaran, a backward district mainly split up into a few extensive zamindaris, the thikadari or farming system largely prevailed from the earliest times, and this naturally was the tenure under which the European planters first acquired their interests in land. Later, however, circumstances arose which gave them a more permanent and secure hold on the soil. By 1876 the Bettia Raj, owing to the social and religious extravagances of the Maharaja and the mismanagement of his employes, had become so heavily involved in debt that the authorities were stirred to action. The Collector in a report of that year wrote thus:

"The estate is getting daily deeper into debt, and that part of the income which is not already hypothecated to pay debts is expended not for the improvement of the soil and the benefit of the people, but in satisfying the extravagances of the Maharaja and his Brahmins. Unless some change takes place, and the Maharaja can be induced to agree to limit his expenditure and to appoint a competent manager with full powers, subject to the approval of the Collector and Commissioner, I do not see any possibility of the estate remaining many years longer."

As a consequence of this representation, a Committee was appointed with the Maharaja of Benares at its head to advise on the situation, and they

prevailed upon the Maharaja of Bettia to secure the services of a European Manager. This led to the appointment of Mr. T. Gibbon, who, in order to consolidate the liabilities of the estate, negotiated the English sterling loan. The Guililand House floated a loan of nearly 95 lakhs of rupees on the sole condition of substantial European security. This led to the grant of a number of villages in permanent (*mukarrari*) lease to the more important factories to cover the interest on the debt. Thus a new era opened. With permanent rights in the soil, the future of the indigo community was placed on a secure and lasting basis. Indigo cultivation was widely extended, and has since then with temporary intervals of depression flourished exceedingly.

537. The following is a list of the indigo factories at present in the district which belong to the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association:—

Name of concern.	Name of outwork.	Thana.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4
1. Bara	Jagnulia Manipur Mohaua Gondah Rasulpur	Kesaria. Madhuban. Ditto. Kesaria. Do. Do.	
2. Bairia	Nautan	Bettia. Do.	
3. Lal Saraya	Madhopur Farana Rajghat	Do. Do. Do.	
4. Loheria	Lugina	Do.	
5. Dhokraha	Bhamachak	Do.	
6. Mallaya	Sirsia	Do.	
7. Motihari	Sugaon Mirpur Purnahia Bhelwa Harraj Chailaha Bishambharpur	Motihari. Ditto. Dhaka. Do. Do. Motihari. Ditto. Dhaka.	
8. Murla	Lachmipur Pokharis	Motihari and Adapur. Adapur. Do.	
9. Pipra	Madhuban Dakaha Jagiraha Dinamat Dhabaulia	Motihari. Pipra. Motihari. Kesaria. Ditto. Pipra.	
10. Rajpur	Hussaini Pakri Jamnapur	Kesaria. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.	
11. Parra	Harpur Sargina	Shikarpur. Bettia. Bagaha.	
12. Sathi	Malaria	Shikarpur. Ditto.	
13. Siraha	Parewa	Dhaka. Do.	
14. Tetaria	Bala Chauhani	Madhuban. Ditto. Ditto.	

Name of concern.	Name of outwork.	Thana.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4
15. Turkaulia ...	..... Chilaram ... Olaha ... Barharwa ... Jalaha ... Makhwa ... Dudahi ... Ghairi ... Khairwa ... Sakhwa ... Tezpurwa ...	Motihari Ditto. Gobindganj Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Bettia. Gobindganj. Ditto. Ditto.	
16. Nawada ...	..... Rajpur Kewal ... Pareauni ...	Dhaka. Shiuhar (Muzaffarpur).	
17. Kuria ..	..... Lalghar ...	Bettia. Do.	
18. Marpa ...	.....	Madhuban, Shiuhar.	
19. Padamkia ...	.....	Dhaka.	
20. Hardia ...	.....	Adapur.	
21. Tilhara ...	.....	Dhaka.	

I find that in 1882-83 the outturn of indigo was 16,000 maunds. In 1888-89 it had increased to 18,912, it rose in 1891-92 to 23,000 maunds, and in 1894-95 reached the record outturn, over 26,000 maunds.

528. I will now pass on to consider the area under indigo at the present time. The average area sown with this crop for the

Area under indigo.

last five years by the concerns that belong to the Indigo Planters' Association amounted to 87,827 bighas, or 76,666·8 acres, the average outturn being 9 seers per acre. The northern thanas of this district consists mainly of paddy-lands unsuited for the growth of indigo, but in the southern thanas upland prevails, and in them the area under indigo is very extensive. The quantity of indigo land found during the survey and settlement operations in each thana is entered in the following statement:—

Serial No.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area.	Cultivated area.	Area under indigo.	Percentage of indigo to cultivated area.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.		
1	Bagaha ...	396,272	198,823	2,403	1·21	
2	Shikarpur ...	354,558	244,781	1,845	0·75	
3	Bettia ...	350,139	243,139	15,964	6·67	
	Bettia Subdivisional Total	1,100,969	686,743	20,212	2·94	
4	Adapur ...	143,401	122,193	3,257	2·67	
5	Dhaka ...	214,528	177,846	17,702	9·96	
6	Motihari ...	185,180	131,337	13,751	10·47	
7	Gobindganj ...	182,689	127,963	15,197	11·88	
8	Kosaria ...	174,842	138,468	19,381	13·99	
9	Madhuban ...	78,206	63,118	6,470	10·25	
	Sadar Subdivisional Total	978,846	760,925	75,758	7·96	
	DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,079,815	1,447,668	95,970	6·63	

529. The total area under indigo was found to be 95,970 acres, or 6.63 per cent. of the total cultivated area. It will be seen that the percentage of the area under indigo to the total area cultivated is remarkably low in the northern thanas, but increases as we travel southwards, the percentage in the Bettia subdivision being 2.97 against 9.96 in the Sadar subdivision. The figures are lowest in Shikarpur and Bagaha, 1.25 and 0.75 respectively, these being paddy growing tracts almost exclusively. A large number of villages in these thanas is held by native thikadars with a view solely to the profits to be made from zamindari, and the concerns that exist ostensibly for the cultivation of indigo make their profits mainly from rice. In the Bettia thana conditions are more favourable, and there the percentage is 6.67. The only Sadar thana returning less than Bettia thana is Adapur with 2.07. It is north of the Sikrahna and an exclusively paddy-growing area like Shikarpur and Bagaha; in Motihari 10.4 per cent. is under indigo, in Gobindganj 11.88 per cent., while Kesaria heads the list with just under 14 per cent. In all the other thanas of the south subdivision indigo is very extensively grown, the percentage being lowest in Dhaka thana, and even there it is nearly 10 per cent. In Madhuban it is 10.27 per cent.

530. It has been shown that the interest of the planters in the land in Champaran is markedly a zamindari one. Leaving then on one side for the present the area actually under indigo, I will show in what proportion of the total area the indigo factories exercise the authority of landlord. The statistics on this point are furnished in the following statement:—

NAME OF THANA	Total area of thana in acres.	AREA HELD BY THE FACTORIES.												REMARKS	
		As proprietor.		As permanent tenure-holder.		As temporary tenure-holder.		Total		As under-tenure-holder.		Total as landlord.			
		Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.	Area.	Percentage to total area.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	Acres.	Acres.			Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		
Bagaha	390,273	...	...	...	17,509	4.47	96,184	24.77	113,693	29.24	8,019	2.17	122,612	30.91	
Shikarpur	354,554	...	...	...	0,790	0.22	62,060	17.51	62,850	16.02	34,716	9.79	107,616	30.36	
Bettia	350,130	...	...	...	79,329	22.63	69,702	19.92	149,031	42.55	10,802	3.08	189,535	54.18	
Bettia Subdivisional Total	1,100,957	...	...	...	197,638	17.94	227,961	20.61	330,979	29.98	63,027	5.72	394,006	35.60	
Adapur	143,401	...	...	...	3,981	2.77	44,110	30.76	48,091	33.53	4,691	3.27	57,792	40.26	
Dhaka	214,529	2,340	1.08	...	13,657	6.31	117,390	54.69	131,047	61.10	2,180	1.02	135,247	63.04	
Motihari	198,180	798	0.40	...	73,506	37.10	38,301	19.32	111,807	56.42	3,700	1.86	116,397	58.74	
Gobindganj	182,680	...	...	...	60,253	33.00	34,370	18.81	94,623	51.81	1,077	0.59	116,701	63.93	
Kesaria	174,842	4,874	2.80	...	74,048	42.39	44,110	25.23	118,158	67.62	123	0.07	122,760	70.04	
Madhuban	79,206	3,190	4.03	...	2,970	3.75	10,063	12.71	22,023	27.81	62	0.08	22,085	28.13	
Sadar subdivision Total	979,840	10,530	1.08	...	218,390	22.39	217,348	22.37	435,704	44.52	11,900	1.21	673,090	68.86	
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,070,815	10,530	0.51	...	357,068	17.17	524,918	25.35	881,381	42.57	65,907	3.18	947,490	45.75	

531. It is, to start with, a sufficiently striking fact that in nearly half of the district the indigo concerns exercise the rights of landlord. Under the term landlords are included, of course, all classes of tenure-holding as well as of proprietary right. In the Sadar subdivision the percentage is 58.55, and in Bettia subdivision even just under 35. Kesaria comes out first with 73 per cent. of its land in which factories hold a landlord's interest. Dhaka, Motihari and Gobindganj follow, all verging on 63 per cent. In Adapur, where there is little indigo, planters have landlord's interest in 36.80 per cent. of the land. Here rice is their main source of income. In Madhuban, on the other hand, where indigo, is very much more extensively grown, the percentage falls to 32.31 per cent. The reason is that in Madhuban the conditions approximate to Tirhut where the existence of petty proprietors and *patidari* renders the acquisition of occupancy rights practicable. In the Bettia subdivision the Bettia thana, with factories interspersed all over the area, comes out with the highest percentage, viz., 45.18, as against 30.91 in Bagaha and 20.21 in Shikarpur. That in these last two thanas there should be 30 per cent. of land in which indigo concerns hold landlord's interest, when only about 1 per cent. of the cultivated area actually grows indigo is also very striking.

532. Coming now to the four different classes of landholding interest, viz., proprietary, *mukarrari*, *thikadari* and *kalkona* (under-tenure), it will be noticed

that the proprietary interests of planters are inconsiderable. They have none in Bagaha, Shikarpur, Bettia, Adapur and Gobindganj, very little in Motihari, 1 per cent. in Dhaka, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Kesaria, and the largest amount, viz. 4 per cent., as might have been expected, in Madhuban. The proportion of the land in the whole district held by planters as proprietors is only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The whole areas of the thanas where no land is so held belong, of course, to big zamindars. Thus, Adapur is owned partly by the Madhuban Babu, partly by the Babu of Bhupatpur (now the Bettia Raj), and the rest by the Bettia Raj. Gobindganj is owned by the Bettia Raj, and the three northern thanas by it and the Raj Rannagar. The percentage of land held by factories on permanent tenure is 25.89 in the Sadar subdivision, or about 8 per cent. above the district figure. In the Bettia subdivision only 9.42 per cent. is so held. Except in thana Bettia itself, almost all the villages are held, as is natural in a tract so undeveloped, under temporary leases. Hence the low percentages of 4.47 in Bagaha, 1.91 in Shikarpur. In Bettia the percentage is so high as 22.63, because many villages given in mukarrari as security for the sterling loan are found there. The largest percentage of area held by factories is under temporary lease, the district figure being 25.2 per cent. The percentage for the Sadar subdivision alone is of course greater, viz. 30.37 per cent. Dhaka and Adapur, where the percentage of mukarrari area is the lowest, naturally come out with the highest percentage of thikadari, viz. 54.69 and 30.76, respectively. For the converse reason, the percentages in Gobindganj and Kesaria are comparatively low, Gobindganj, with 18.81 per cent., returning a lower figure than even Bettia and Bagaha. That the percentage in Bettia should be 19.62, where there is indigo, and as much as 24.27 in Bagaha, where there is not, is very striking. But here, as I have said, profits are derived mainly from rice or zamindari and not from indigo. The percentage of area held in under-tenure is small, 3.15 per cent. being the proportion for the whole district. The percentage in Shikarpur is high (9.97 per cent.) Here there are many native thikadars who find it convenient to sublet to factories. The remaining figures call for no comment. The above statistics show the great extent of landlord's interest that the indigo planters of this district at present possess. The interest is mainly tenure-holding, but in thanas Bettia, Motihari, Gobindganj and Kesaria, where the proportion of area held on permanent tenure varies from 23 to 45 per cent., it is for the most part as secure as proprietary right. Seventeen per cent. of the whole district area is held on a permanent tenure.

533. Returning once more to the consideration of indigo cultivation, I will try to convey an idea of the extent to which it is grown on the lands in which the factory possesses different rights. For the compilation of statistics three thanas were selected as typical, viz., Bettia, Kesaria and Dhaka, and the percentages so furnished can be regarded as representing the normal conditions of the indigo growing portion of the district. The figures are as follows:—

NAME OF THANA.	Total area in the occupation of factory.	AREA HELD AS PROPRIETOR.		AREA HELD AS TENURE-HOLDER.						AREA HELD AS UNDER-TENURE-HOLDER.		AREA HELD AS RAITAT.		AREA HELD RENT-FREE.		REMARKS.	
		Area.	Percentage to total.	Permanent.		Temporary.		Total.		Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.		
				Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.	Area.	Percentage to total.								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
		Acres.	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.		
Digaria	...	7,141	...	5.52	8,658	65.25	1,785	24.27	6,413	89.80	651	9.12	97	1.36	...	...
Kesaria	...	8,843	501	5.66	8,314	66.53	1,507	20.28	4,581	79.88	181	2.67	710	13.06	...	...
Dhaka	...	4,139	400	9.66	341	8.14	3,296	77.94	3,606	86.08	...	...	170	4.06	...	...
Total	...	17,513	901	5.14	8,315	48.90	6,236	36.17	14,531	81.67	802	4.56	857	5.36	18	0.10	

534. The total area in the direct cultivation of the factories in these three thanas is 17,212 acres, or 32.4 per cent. of the total area under indigo in them. Thus one-third of the indigo area is cultivated direct, and two-thirds are

cultivated by raiyats. Of the areas in direct cultivation, the area held rent-free is too insignificant to be noticed, that grown by the factory as a raiyat is 5.56 per cent., so that the main bulk, viz., 94.36 per cent., of direct cultivation is in lands held in the capacity of landlord. Thus it can be said that indigo concerns in Champaran have acquired raiyati rights to a very insignificant extent. Those possessed have been acquired mainly from rent-free holders (*briddars*) of villages in lease to factories. The percentage is highest for the three thanas in Kesaria (12 per cent.). But being numerous there, the status of concerns that grow most of their indigo on the land in which they themselves possess the landlord's interest is very high and their prestige proportionately great. They are relieved from the necessity of haggling with petty proprietors and cultivators to which their less fortunate friends of Tirhut and Saran have to submit. In Kesaria and Dhaka 8 to 9 per cent. of the direct cultivation is in lands which the planter holds as proprietor. In Bettia no land is so held. For the three thanas together nearly half of the direct cultivation is in land in which the planters enjoy permanent tenure-holding interests. In Bettia it is as much as 65 per cent. and in Kesaria 56 per cent. In Dhaka, where the total area so held is small, it is 8 per cent. only. Thirty-six per cent. of the direct cultivation is in lands in which factories have *thikadari* rights. The percentage is necessarily highest in Dhaka, where it is nearly 80. It is 24½ in Bettia and 20½ per cent. in Kesaria. The area on which factories grow indigo in the capacity of undertenure-holders is less than 5 per cent. of the area under direct cultivation and requires no detailed comment beyond that the high percentage in Bettia (9.12 per cent.) is explained by the existence of a large crowd of the Maharaja's Brahmans, who like safe returns without the trouble of management.

535. Having classified the extent of direct indigo cultivation according to

The proportion of factory land under indigo.

the factory's status, I will now compare the proportion of the indigo land held under each status with

the total land held under such status by factories in the three thanas of Bettia, Kesaria, and Dhaka. The percentages are as under:—

Serial number.	Name of thana.	UNDERINDIGO.		TOTAL AREA HELD BY THE FACTORY.				AREA IN THE OCCUPATION OF FACTORY.		
		Area.	Percentage to the cultivated area.	As proprietor.	As tenure-holder.			Area.	As proprietor.	
					Temporary.	Permanent.	Total.		Percentage to the area under indigo.	Percentage to the area owned as proprietor.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		Acres.		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.		
1	Bettia	15,404	6.57	...	68,702	79,229	147,931	...	...	...
2	Kesaria	19,381	13.99	4,374	44,110	79,098	123,208	601	2.69	11.45
3	Dhaka	17,702	9.10	2,240	117,320	13,527	130,847	400	2.26	17.85
	Total	52,487	9.58	6,614	230,132	171,854	402,010	1,001	1.70	13.63

Serial number.	Name of thana.	AREA IN THE OCCUPATION OF FACTORY.														Total area in the occupation of factory		REMARKS.
		As tenure-holder						As rent-free	As ryots.									
		Temporary.			Permanent		Total.											
		Area.	Percentage to the area under indigo.	Percentage to the area owned as temporary tenure.	Area.	Percentage to the area under indigo.	Percentage to the area owned as temporary.	Area.	Percentage to the area under indigo.	Percentage to the area owned as tenure-holder.	Area.	Percentage to the area under indigo.	Area.	Percentage to the area under indigo.	Area.	Percentage to the total area held by factory.		
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27			
1	Bettia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	Kesaria	1,755	10.99	2.00	1,656	29.15	5.87	6,412	40.74	4.54	...	...	77	0.45	7,161	4.95
3	Dhaka	1,287	6.72	2.75	3,316	17.09	4.19	4,621	23.83	2.67	13	0.17	710	3.66	6,483	4.61		
	Total	3,264	18.44	2.75	841	1.36	2.61	2,305	26.56	2.76	13	0.17	170	0.96	4,184	2.14		
	Total	6,236	11.73	2.79	8,312	16.67	4.93	14,530	27.41	3.61	13	0.02	267	1.40	17,212	4.21		

526. An inspection of this table will show that out of a total area of 53,047 bighas under indigo in the three thanas one-third, as I have said, is cultivated direct by the planter and two-thirds through raiyats. Another point is noticeable, namely, that the proportion of the indigo land is 13.67 of the total proprietary land of factories, 4.83 per cent of the total *mukarrari* land and only 2.71 of the total *thikadari* land. No doubt in the case of proprietary lands, the areas being very small do not provide a fair basis of comparison, but there must necessarily exist the tendency for an indigo concern to hold the best lands in direct occupation when it is in a position to do so. Then of course a planter naturally tries to get most of his cultivation in those lands where his tenure is permanent and secure, a fact that accounts for the larger proportion of indigo in *mukarrari* than in *thikadari* lands. Dhaka, however, is an exception. There the *mukarrari* area is small and mainly consists of land just round the factories, much of which is used for miscellaneous purposes.

SYSTEMS OF INDIGO CULTIVATION.

537. There are two main systems of direct cultivation called *zirait* and *assamiwar*, i.e., cultivation through raiyats under *sattas*. There are some others also of minor importance. The common use of the term *zirait* is not confined to its legal significance. Any land in direct occupation held by a proprietor or superior tenureholder which is not *raiya* is called *zirait*. *Zirait* indigo land is cultivated by the factory at its own expense and with hired labour. Over one-fourth of the area under indigo is of this class, and owing to its careful cultivation returns the best profits. Of late years, to prevent that deterioration that resulted from constant cropping, more attention has been bestowed on the rotation of indigo with sugarcane, oats, and other crops, but no definite principles have been evolved.

538. Under the *satta* system cultivators agree for a term of years to grow indigo on 3 kathas per bigha of their holding. This is sometimes called the *linkathia* system, but must be distinguished from that system, now happily almost extinct, according to which the planters appropriated 3 kathas per bigha out of the raiyat's holding, giving him in return nothing beyond a proportionate reduction of rent. Under the *satta* system the seed is supplied by the factory, and the raiyat has to cultivate and sow under the directions of the factory servants. The price paid to the raiyat is Rs. 11 per bigha of a 6½ cubit *taggi* plus rent. This rate is paid for a full crop. The minimum paid is Rs. 5-5 for "*bijmar*," i.e., where the crop fails through no fault of the cultivator. An advance (*dadni*) of nearly Rs. 6-8 an acre is always made to these tenants. No interest is charged and a set off is given against the sum due to them when the year's accounts are made up. The indigo is cut and carted at the expense of the factory. Under the terms of the *satta* each tenant renders himself liable to damages generally Rs. 50 to 60 per bigha, in case of his wilfully neglecting to grow indigo as stipulated.

539. *Badlain* or exchange is a prominent characteristic of this system. Lands after being cropped three and four years successively with indigo require to be sown with grain and other surface root crops. Indigo, being a plant with a deep root, forms an excellent rotation crop with them, but successive crops of indigo exhaust the soil. Hence it seems necessary to arrange for an exchange of land and *badlain* is a practice universally followed.

540. The *khushki* system as understood in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga rarely obtains in Champaran. Under it the raiyats voluntarily undertake to grow indigo without any agreement and are paid at a privileged rate. They are, generally speaking, cultivators holding lands in other estates, whereas in Champaran factories have such extensive tenure-holding rights that they can generally make better terms with their own raiyats and have no call to enlist the services of others. In Tirhut *khushki* is also applied to *sattas* executed by the raiyats of estates not in lease to the factory.

541. Under the *kurtauli* (or *shikmi*) system the factory sublets from a raiyat and grows the indigo itself with its own labour, the rent agreed on being deducted from

the rent due from the raiyat to the factory in its capacity as landlord. The factory is in short a mere under-raiyat. *Kurtauli* leases appear to be more commonly met with in Motihari than else where.

542. Such are the main systems under which indigo is grown in Champaran. They have been more fully and exhaustively described in the Muzaffarpur report, where also their general advantages and disadvantages have been discussed.

543. • It is of course imperative that the indigo plant should be cut and brought into the factory directly it is ripe, and that the owners of carts hired for this purpose should be bound by agreements. The form of agreement is given at the end of this chapter. In consideration of an advance the owner of the cart agrees for a term of years to place it at the disposal of the factory during both first and second manufacturing, and in return receives a fixed rate of payment a little below the ordinary rate. Sometimes, as in the case of the *satta* attached, a nominal interest is charged on the advance, sometimes none at all.

THE GENERAL ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF INDIGO CULTIVATION.

544. This is a subject which I have discussed at some length in the Muzaffarpur report, and shall therefore refer to more briefly here. There are four aspects of the question—(1) in relation to Government and the administration, (2) in relation to landowners, (3) in relation to cultivators, (4) in relation to labourers.

545. My conclusions are that the indigo industry in relation to Government and the administration, in relation to landowner, and in relation to labourers confers very decided benefits on the district, but that in relation to cultivators its advantages are very much more questionable. I need not repeat all the data on which these conclusions are based, but the advantages to the landowning classes in Champaran are different from those found in Muzaffarpur. In Champaran it is true only to a limited extent that the indigo factory performs the function of the landowner's money-lender, and thus saves him from the disgrace attaching to a Hindu who permanently alienates property. Here the utility of the indigo factory is largely connected with the management of the Bettia Raj. It has been seen that it was their security which rendered possible the raising of the Bettia sterling loan. Further, while the factories, to the best of my knowledge, are good and considerate landlords to their raiyats, they increase the value of property they supervise by dint of good management and pay up their rents with punctuality. The Bettia Raj has not the organisation requisite for the efficient management of all its estates direct. That, relying on indigo and not on zamindari for their profits, indigo factories have been available to share with it the responsibility of management, at a very slender rate of remuneration, has proved a decided advantage to that estate.

546. The benefits of the indigo industry to the labouring population are still more marked, for these are the classes in greatest need of support. The average number of labourers employed in Champaran per diem by indigo factories is 33,000, and more than half the labour is employed in the cold weather months, when these classes are most liable to destitution. It is true that the factory rates of labour are somewhat lower than those ordinarily paid, and it is often urged that factories have had a tendency to keep down labour rates. A large employer of labour naturally gets it cheaper than the man who employs a single coolie, and if factories have attempted to keep down rates they have not invariably succeeded, as the rates differ considerably in different tracts. Perhaps, too, it is not altogether a disadvantage that the labouring classes should not be encouraged into over-population and improvidence even greater than that already inherent in them by an inflated and, perhaps, precarious prosperity. If a large bulk of the indigo concerns were suddenly called upon to close, the great distress from which these classes would suffer—a distress which with an ignorant and unenterprising people, would take years to find its remedy in migration—is not pleasant to contemplate. There can be no question, then, of the vast advantages of the indigo industry to the labouring classes.

547. In relation to the agriculturists its merits are more questionable. But here again, so far as raiyats not called upon to grow indigo are concerned, an indigo factory as landlord is a very decided advantage. The indigo concern's best interests centre in maintaining stability of rents, and, what is of more importance, this truth is generally both recognised by them and acted upon. It is true that during these operations rents were often raised in villages leased by indigo factories, but I know many of the Managers to have been averse to this course, which, however, they were compelled to take under directions from the superior landlord. Again, non-indigo raiyats who are tenants to factories have their accounts kept well and accurately, are given proper receipts, are not called on for additional demands to meet domestic ceremonies so common in native estates, and are protected and helped when they fall into difficulties. But to come to raiyats who are called on to execute agreements to grow indigo on three *kathas* per *bigha* in their holdings. In the Muzaffarpur report, I have shown that three-fifths of the indigo cultivation is *sirait* and only two-fifths *assamiwar*. In Champaran the conditions are reversed; one-third is *sirait* and two-thirds are *assamiwar*. Thus if there are disadvantages to the cultivators in the *assamiwar* system, they are felt more extensively in Champaran. In Champaran the *satta* system has always been more prevalent. The Champaran concerns are generally more extensive. Perhaps they have less factory stock and shun the extra trouble and outlay *sirait* cultivation entails. Then, their position as landlords being so much stronger, and the people being more submissive than is the case in Muzaffarpur, they are better able to work their cultivation through raiyats.

548. I will not repeat here the calculations made in the Muzaffarpur report as to the relative advantage to the cultivator of growing indigo or other crops. But in Champaran the profits from growing other crops being lower than in Muzaffarpur, pecuniarily a cultivator loses per acre by growing indigo. This deficiency may or may not be made up by other advantages that he derives, but these are less tangible, and he does not appreciate them at their full value. He finds that if he had grown another crop, he would have made more money. He forgets that he received an advance when he required it; that the existence of indigo gives him more profits from his cart than he would otherwise obtain, and that his rent, had the village been leased to a native *thikadar* instead of to an indigo planter, would probably have been more onerous. The fact remains that the raiyats on the whole do not like indigo, though I do not think they possess very active sentiments on the subject, their attitude being one of passive acquiescence. Again, the system of accounts is open to the objection, that it tends to check independence of thought and action. The accounts for rents, advances and indigo are all mixed up together, and though kept no doubt well and accurately, are incomprehensible to the ordinary uneducated mind. Finally, the system of exchange (*badlain*) which I have already referred to raises apprehension in the raiyat's mind that his tenant-right will be interfered with. His tenant-right is as a rule preserved unimpaired, and the record-of-right will afford him full protection. Moreover, indigo, as a rotation crop for food-grains, distinctly benefits the land. But a raiyat may be asked to give in *badlain* for indigo, a plot which he has liberally manured and carefully tilled in anticipation of fat profit to be realised from some other crop. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that the *badlain* system is not generally liked.

549. My general conclusions then are that the cultivators who grow indigo on agreement receive little advantage from it, and in their own opinion the crop is generally believed to be pecuniarily disadvantageous; that, on the other hand, only two-thirds of the indigo cultivation is of this nature, that is to say, only 4 per cent. of the cultivated area in the district, and that to be set against the real and imaginary disadvantages to a comparatively small body of raiyats are the great and material benefits that accrue to the administration, to landlords and to labourers from the presence in the district of the indigo concerns and their industry.

550. I subjoin specimens of the forms of agreement for the hire of carts and for the cultivation of Indigo generally in use.

AGREEMENT (*SATTA*) FOR CARTS.

I, Makund Teli, son of Khakhan Teli, by caste Teli, am resident of Jagdispur, tappa Sonaul, pargana Majhaua, thana Kesaria, district Champaran.

I of my own free will took a *tabahi*-advance of Rs. 20, half of which is Rs. 10, on a monthly interest of 8 annas per cent., on condition of supplying a cart and two stout oxen with other requisites at the time of sowing and *mahai* of indigo to Mr. _____, Manager of _____, Mr. _____, proprietor of _____ Indigo concern, for a

period of 20 years from year _____ to year _____. Fassi and brought the money in my appropriation under the conditions that I shall supply one cart and two oxen from time to time each season every year during the term of lease, and shall follow the orders of the Manager or the Sub-Manager or his *amlas*, and shall do everything according to their wishes and custom of the *kothi*, and during *mahai* time shall fetch the indigo plants from the *sirait* and *assamiscar* fields to the indigo *haus* (vat), and shall take back in time the indigo rubbish and throw away wherever directed by the *amlas* of the factory.

I agree to take wages for loading of indigo plants at two pice (*lohia*) per maund for the first and second trip of *morhan*, at 3 pice (*lohia*) per maund for the first and second trip of *khaunti* and the indigo rubbish, the weight of which is to be accepted as written in the register of the factory at the rate of 1 pice (*lohia*) per maund.

At the time of sowing seeds I agree to carry them to the *sirait* and *assamiscar* fields in the country, wages being at 5 annas per day.

If I give my oxen to the *tanri* operation I agree to take 4 annas per bigha according to the register of the factory.

Deducting the amount of *dadni* and interest on the advanced sum from my dues of wages, &c., I agree to take the balance in December every year on giving a receipt thereof to the Manager.

If the amount due to the factory exceeds my dues, I agree to pay the balance in cash to the Manager or the Sub-manager, or at their consent, to pay up out of my dues of the next year. Whatever amount will fall due after deduction from *dadni*, &c., to the *kothi*, or my heirs shall pay, and in default of payment, the factory is entitled to recover it from my moveable and immovable properties without objection.

I bind myself not to sell my cart and oxen, nor to accept any advance or *dadni* on them from any other, and not to absent myself during the time of sowing and *mahai*, i.e., during the whole season. Should I fail, I agree to pay a fine of Rs. 1 per day as damage to Manager or Sub-manager. If I fail to do this, then the Manager will be entitled to recover the amount from my moveable and immovable properties. I write this agreement for 20 years that it may be of use in time of need.

SATTA FOR INDIGO.

I, Kali Pandey, son of Adit Pandey, Brahmin by caste, am a resident of mauza Panditpur, tappa Madhau, pargana Majhaua, thana Motihari, sub-registry and district Champaran.

Taking of my free will and inclination, an advance of Rs. 12 from Mr. _____, Manager in behalf of Mr. _____, proprietor of indigo concern, and its sub-factories and in tappa Bolwa and Dhokha in tappa Madhau and Madhuban in tappa Mando, pargana Majhaua, thana and district Champaran, for cultivation of *Phaguni* indigo in an area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ biswas of land for a term of 20 years from 1301 to 1323 Fassi out of 2 bighas 9 cottahs of *kasht* land (measured with a *laggi* of 8 *hathas*, prevalent in the factory) held as *thika* in mauza Panditpur mentioned above, I do hereby declare that in the said *thika kasht* the portion that will be best suited to the cultivation of indigo I shall cultivate, prepare and sow with as much seed of indigo as will be given by the Manager.

That I shall take every possible care and pain in preparing the fields and in sowing, weeding for the first, second and third time, and that I shall do in time all other necessary duties required for the cultivation of indigo in all its stages.

That if the *Phaguni* seeds do not germinate in this portion of indigo land I shall sow with *Baisakhi* and *Asarhi* indigo, and shall take all possible care thereof, and in case they also do not grow I declare not to sow in it any other grain; if I do, I shall be liable to forfeiture of all sums falling due from the Manager in my account of indigo for which no objection on my part or that of heirs shall be considered valid.

That when the indigo plants are ready to be cut, I shall cut and have them loaded on all carts whenever sent from the *kothi* during the time fixed for *mahai*.

That regarding remuneration it is agreed upon that in case of good outturn Rs. 16 per bigha and in failure Rs. 6 per bigha according to factory measurement be accepted by me every year during the time of lease.

That if owing to my neglect and inattention any portion of the indigo field be prepared and sowed at the cost of the factory, the Manager will be at liberty to deduct their cost from my dues of indigo, and if that be insufficient to cover the demand he will be entitled to realise the amount from my person and properties.

That the landlord's rent for the land set apart for cultivation of indigo by the Manager shall be paid by me and not by the factory.

That it is optional with the Manager or his *amlas* to select and measure any other patch of field in the said *thika kasht* for cultivation of indigo, but this should be specified in the month of *Baisakh*, and I shall cultivate and prepare that without objection being raised on my part or that of my heirs.

That if I fail to do so any year or cultivate and sow indigo in fields other than those selected and set apart by the Manager or his *amlas*, I for the breach of the contract shall be liable to pay to the factory damage, after the expiry of the sowing season, of Rs. 48 per bigha very year till the end of the term of the lease.

That in default of the payment of the damage mentioned above the factory is entitled to bring a civil suit against me and recover the amount from my moveable and immoveable properties, for which no objection will be raised on my part or that of my heirs. *

That at the expiry of the term of lease, I am entitled to get from the Manager of the factory whatever amount may fall due to me in my account of indigo deducting therefrom the amount of the advance mentioned above.

I therefore write this agreement for 20 years for cultivation of indigo that it may be of use in time of need.

CHAPTER IV.

STATISTICAL ESTIMATE OF THE MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE LOWER AGRICULTURAL ORDERS.

551. In view of the fact that portions of the district of Champaran have from time to time been visited by periods of distress more or less severe, it is important to examine what light the statistics compiled during the survey and settlement operations throw on this very important subject. My intentions in this direction have been largely anticipated by Mr. D. J. Macpherson, C.I.E., in his report on the famine of 1897, and I shall therefore draw freely on what he has said as occasion offers. The discussion can be most suitably initiated by a short sketch of the famines from which Champaran has suffered.

552. The earliest famine of which we have historical record is that of 1769-70, which, as is well known, is said to have devastated the whole of Bihar and Northern Bengal, and to have killed off one-third of the whole population. It is a pity that there are no reliable data of this famine, because their comparison with those of the recent famine would have thrown a flood of light on the extent to which material conditions have undergone amelioration. We are told that the season of 1768 had been bad; that there had been floods in August of that year and no rain after that month; that in 1769 the early rains were deficient, and on the 28th July the Resident at Patna reported that the grain sown had been entirely spoilt. Then heavy showers fell, which must have sufficed for transplantation, but after that no rain fell, and the result was that the *bhadai* crop was poor, the winter rice a total failure, and the spring crop extremely scanty. In October 1769 very gloomy reports were received from Bihar and Bengal, and distress was acutest in Bihar in the spring. The Resident of Bihar estimated that 200,000 people died of starvation in the Bihar province during May, but good rains in June restored confidence and from that time the distress abated. Such is about all we know regarding the character of the 1770 famine in the Bihar province. All that can definitely be said by way of comparison with the visitation of 1897 is that the distress began to make itself felt much sooner in 1769 than in 1896, for so early as October of the former year the people began to flock to the Resident at Patna, pleading that they were starving and demanding food. So early as December rice was being distributed in Patna. It is certain also that had no relief at all been administered in Bihar during 1897, 200,000 persons would not have died during May, for in 1897 the distress in South Bihar was trifling, while in North Bihar only 10 per cent. of the population was affected including those affected even to a very slight degree.

553. The next great famine occurred in 1806, but from 1770 there were periods of distress. In 1783 a severe famine was apprehended, but it was confined mainly to Oudh and the North-Western Provinces, whence it was proposed to import the surplus population to till the unoccupied wastes of Bihar. In 1789 extensive damage was done to crops by excessive rain, followed two or three years later by devastating floods of the Gandak, in consequence of which many a zamindar fled to Nipal. In 1791, again, the *aghani* and *rabi* crops failed from drought, the outturn of *bhadai* also being, in the opinion of the Collector, not sufficient to admit of the monthly collections of revenue going on. In 1803 there was failure of *aghani* and *bhadai* from want of rain. The prices rose by 25 per cent., and the Collector recommended a remission of revenue amounting to 2 lakhs. 1823 was another year of distress.

554. 1866, the year of the next great famine, was that in which Champaran was constituted a separate district. Separate records for the district regarding it are therefore available. According to the Famine Commissioners'

report, "the tracts that suffered most in Bihar were the northern portions (adjoining the Nipal Terai) of Champaran, Tirhut and Bhagalpur." The rainfall had been deficient and stopped early, none falling in October. The winter rice was almost a total failure, though the autumn crop had been fair, and the spring crops for want of moisture were poor. From April to August rice was selling in Champaran at from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee, about three times its usual rate. The mortality was heavy. The police reported 138,000 deaths from starvation in North Bihar and Bengal, mainly in the tract named and it is certain that this was a very small proportion of the total number. The Famine Commissioners estimated that one-third of the population of the affected districts suffered from severe famine. Had relief in 1897 been as inadequate as it was in 1866, it is certain that a very much less proportion of the population would have been severely affected and the deaths from starvation would have been very much fewer. The appalling mortality that accompanied this famine is still well remembered by old inhabitants.

555. Only eight years later came the great famine of 1874. The rainfall of 1873 had been badly distributed and deficient, and only .46 of an inch fell from September to December. There was a 10-anna *bhadai* crop, but only a 2-anna winter rice crop, and though the spring crops were much better, they were not of sufficient importance to have had much effect in improving the situation. The distress was felt most severely in thanas Adapur, Lauria (Shikarpur) and Bagaha. Gobindganj also suffered badly. Expenditure during this famine was so lavish that no trustworthy conclusions can be drawn from the numbers relieved. It appears, however, that distress did not begin to make itself felt until January, that is to say, a good deal later than in the famine previously referred to.

556. After 1874 the next period of scarcity which affected this district was in 1888-89. The rainfall of 1888 had proved unpropitious. There was a failure of the rice crop and consequent distress in the tract bordering on the Nipal frontier. In this year relief works were opened in September, but it is difficult to understand how they could have been required so early.

557. In the year 1896-97 occurred what I believe to have been accurately described as the greatest famine of the century. Here the cause was, in the words of Mr. D. J. Macpherson, late Collector of the district, "deficient and unfavourably distributed rainfall in 1895 and 1896, intensified by extraordinarily high prices consequent on similar causes operating over a great part of India." Mr. Macpherson writes: "In May 1896 the showers which facilitate the early sowing of the *bhadai* crops were much scantier than usual, and the monsoon rains began late, not until the 25th of June, and then only feebly, the fall for June being actually less than half the average. The rainfall was capriciously distributed in different localities, and remained in persistent defect throughout the rainy season, being 8.8 per cent. below the normal in July, 20.9 per cent. below it in August, and 74.7 per cent. in September; while not a drop fell after the 18th of that month until Christmas with the exception of a sprinkling (only 3 cents) on the 23rd of November. There was a prolonged break in the rains of four weeks' duration from the 21st of July to the 17th of August, which did the greatest possible damage to the autumn rice and the *bhadai* crops, and after the first of September, there was practically no rain at all that could be of any material benefit to the autumn rice crop. The total defect from May to October inclusive was 19.19 inches, or 40.7 per cent." The consequence was a very inferior *bhadai* harvest and an almost total failure of the winter rice crop. The Collector of Champaran in comparing the rainfall of 1896 with that of 1865 and 1873 justly observes:—

"The year 1896-97 has, however, been markedly worse than either, as not only was it preceded by a year of poor crops as 1865-66 was, but its own harvests, taking them all round, have been decidedly inferior to those of 1873-74 and still more so to those of 1865-66."

About 445 square miles round Ramnagar in thana Shikarpur was the first area to succumb and the last area to recover. Then the south part of thana Dhaka and a small tract round Areraj in thana Gobindganj came under relief in November. In December the greater part of thanas Bagaha and Shikarpur required assistance, as also "a large tract extending from Bettia down the southern part of the district in Bettia and Gobindganj thanas and the northern part of Kesaria, while a great part of the eastern portion of the district in North Madhuban, South Dhaka and round Ekderi, east at Adapur,

was also suffering severely. The distress was most acute in May, and by that time most of the district had become more or less affected. There were, however, some tracts saved by irrigation, viz., Adapur thana, North Dhaka, the north-east portions of thana Bettia, a few villages near Sathi factory and the whole of the undulating country of the Tharus. A few unirrigated tracts also, viz., the Dhanaha outpost on the Gorakhpur borders, the south-west part of Bettia adjoining it, the alluvial lands along the Gandak and a portion of the district about Mehsi on the Muzaffarpur borders required no assistance. The thanas which next became severely affected were Bettia, Gobindganj and Motihari. Kesaria and Madhuban were the last to feel distress and the first to recover from it.

558. The degree of liability to distress of these thanas affords most striking evidence of the fact that famine arises from a failure of the rice crop and from nothing else. The percentage of cultivated area under rice in the several thanas is as follows:—

Adapur	...	...	...	...	85	per cent.
Shikarpur	...	...	...	...	80	"
Bagaha	...	...	...	...	56	"
Dhaka	...	...	...	...	55	"
Bettia	...	...	...	...	50	"
Gobindganj	...	...	...	...	35	"
Motihari	...	...	...	...	35	"
Kesaria	...	...	...	...	32	"
Madhuban	...	...	...	...	32	"

*Adapur was largely protected by irrigation, and Bettia would perhaps have succumbed sooner than Gobindganj and Motihari had it not been similarly protected. It is the thanas with a predominance of upland which grow indigo, *makai* and good spring crops that were the last to succumb.

559. That wide spread famine can be caused by the failure of the rice crop alone receives confirmation from the history of every famine that has occurred in North Bihar. And Champaran with so much as 54 per cent. of its cropped area under autumn or winter rice 2 per cent. only of which is irrigated is necessarily the district most susceptible to intense distress. In spite, however, of this fact and of the uselessness of famine estimates for the purposes of comparison, I believe it to be undoubtedly true that the area of liability to famine tends to grow narrower, and the cause must be an all-round amelioration in material condition. Even in the worst months, February—March, only about 10 per cent of the population was in receipt of relief either gratuitous or on relief work, and the error, if any, was certainly on the side of a too liberal treatment. It is, of course, the labouring classes who are most exposed to distress and they constitute 30 per cent. of the population. It is obvious then that true agriculturists can have been affected only to a very small degree.

560. The Government of Bengal in reviewing the famine of 1897 wrote on this subject:—

"As to how far the events of the famine have indicated any increase in the powers of the people to resist the effects of bad seasons, detailed and laboured comparisons and deductions from the experience of 1874 have not been attempted. That under less favourable circumstances than in 1873-74 the number requiring Government relief should have been so much less, would appear to establish the fact of a general improvement in the general circumstances of the people, but the whole conditions of the relief administration during the two famines were so different, that the inference is not so conclusive as it would have been had the same methods been adopted in both cases. Nevertheless, the general experience and observations of the officers engaged in the famine, some of them with knowledge of the facts, both then and now, as well as the concurrent opinions of non-officials acquainted with these provinces, do indicate that, even in Bihar, during the past quarter of a century there has been a considerable advance in material prosperity, and that the power of the country as a whole to withstand the calamities of seasons has greatly increased."

561. With these preliminary remarks on the tendency of the people at large towards amelioration of material condition I shall now pass on by the aid of settlement statistics to analyse what the profits of the ordinary agriculturist are and so to ascertain what is the smallest size of holding that will suffice to keep a cultivator and his family in fair comfort.

562. To begin with outturn per acre:—unfortunately there have been no crop cuttings whereon to base an estimate, and the statements of the people themselves are of course

Outturn per acre.

absolutely untrustworthy. The evidence therefore upon which we have to fall back is—

(a) Sir A. P. MacDonnell's "Food-grain supply."

(b) Collector's report submitted in connection with an irrigation project, quoted *in extenso*, in Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account.

(c) Official estimates issued from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal.

(d) Mr. Macpherson's final report on the last famine of 1896-97.

Mr. Macpherson in recording his own views on this subject has fully criticised previous estimates. He observed:—

"I do not think that the rate of yield in Champaran should be taken so high as for Bihar generally. The soil of the district, as a whole, is not so fertile as that of the adjoining districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran. In the most extensive rice area in the district of the northern half of Bettia, cultivation is inefficient owing to the people having more land than they can till properly, and to their energies being sapped by malaria, and this must reduce the average outturn on rice land for the district as a whole. Still we may take it at 12 maunds an acre for winter rice.

"At page 277, volume XIII of Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, dealing with Champaran, will be found the average produce per acre as ascertained from an elaborate report furnished in connection with a comprehensive irrigation project for the district. Of the *bhadai* food crops mentioned there, maize is returned as yielding 8½ maunds and *kodo* millet 10½ maunds per acre; *dham* (apparently cleaned rice) is stated to yield 10½ maunds. Of the *rabi* crops barley and *china* millet are returned 8½ maunds, and wheat, gram and peas each at only 6½ maunds. The remarks on pages 100—101 of MacDonnell's Food Supply corroborate the view of a relatively low outturn of *bhadai* and *rabi* crops, as compared with the rest of Bihar. The crop experiments carried out within the last two or three years have not been conducted with sufficient care to enable trustworthy conclusions to be drawn. In this connection, I think we may accept the average yield for Bengal, generally which is slightly lower than that for Bihar, for *bhadai* crops in Champaran, viz., 10 maunds an acre, which is 3 maunds higher than the rate adopted in 1876. But the *rabi* crops certainly do not give an all-round yield of 10½ maunds per acre on an average of years good and bad, much of them look thin and wanting in vigor, being grown on comparatively high and light soil, or as catch crops after rice. I should say that 8 maunds an acre is the outside all-round rate that should be taken for *rabi* crops in Champaran for an average harvest, and even this is one maund higher than was adopted in MacDonnell's Food-grain Supply."

563. Mr. Macpherson's general results are in my opinion near the mark, but they can be tested by a detailed examination of the outturn of particular crops. In the following statement the average outturn for each harvest is worked out from the area ascertained to be under each crop multiplied by what I believe to be its average outturn:—

True average outturn of Rabi, Bhadai and Aghani.

Serial number.	NAME OF CROP.	Whether rabi, bhadai or aghani.	Total area under each crop.	Average outturn per acre of each crop.	Total outturn of each crop.	Average outturn of total of rabi, bhadai and aghani crop.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Wheat	Rabi	Mds. 1,02,305	Mds. s. ch. 8 0 0	Mds. s. ch. 8,18,130 0 0	Mds. s. ch.	
2	Barley	Do.	2,16,799	8 0 0	10,24,661 0 0		
3	Gram	Do.	37,161	7 0 0	2,60,127 0 0		
4	Other food-grain, including pulse	Do.	2,07,974	8 0 0	16,63,664 0 0		
5	Linseed	Do.	68,841	8 0 0	5,50,668 0 0		
6	Til	Do.	2,400	2 0 0	4,800 0 0		
7	Mustard	Do.	8,905	2 0 0	17,810 0 0		
8	Other crops, including oil-seeds	Do.	18,006	10 0 0	1,80,060 0 0		
9	Soyas	Do.	5,978	8 0 0	47,824 0 0		
10	Sugarcane	Do.	11,148	25 0 0	2,78,676 0 0		
11	Cotton	Do.	2,131	8 0 0	17,048 0 0		
12	Jute	Do.	606	8 0 0	4,848 0 0		
13	Kusum	Do.	648	0 0 0	0 0 0		
14	Opium	Do.	23,064	0 0 0	0 0 0		
15	Tobacco	Do.	2,405	18 0 0	43,290 0 0		
16	Pointone	Do.	2,308	20 0 0	46,160 0 0		
	Total		7,08,803		89,77,908 7 0	7 26 54	Say 6 maunds.
17	Rice	Bhadai	2,41,671	11 0 0	26,58,381 0 0		
18	Maize	Do.	1,19,008	10 0 0	11,90,080 0 0		
19	Marwa	Do.	17,368	8 0 0	1,38,944 0 0		
20	Kodo	Do.	1,13,283	8 20 0	9,53,728 0 0		
21	Soyas	Do.	28,604	8 0 0	2,28,832 0 0		
22	Bajra	Do.	4,178	10 0 0	41,780 0 0		
23	Jawar	Do.	5,948	18 0 0	10,706 0 0		
	Total		5,45,194		84,65,108 20 0	10 0 20	Say 10 maunds.
24	Rice	Aghani	5,35,900	12 0 0	64,30,800 0 0		
25	Yam	Do.	19,134	75 0 0	14,35,050 0 0		
	Total		5,55,034		78,65,850 0 0	14 0 7	

564. Under *rabi* potatoes yielding 80 maunds an acre have been included, but to be set against this there are safflower and opium whose outturns are only a few seers. The *aghani* average outturn goes up to 14 maunds owing to the inclusion of yams which produce not less than 75 maunds per acre.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the yield per acre is not uniform throughout the whole district. It has been often pointed out in this report how marked the difference in the soil is north and south of the Sikrahna, and this was illustrated by the prevalence of certain crops in certain thanas which the crop statistics disclosed. In the following statement an attempt is made to furnish the variation in outturn of the chief crops thana by thana:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	BHADAI.									AGHANI.		
		RICE.			MAIZE.			KUDO.			RICE.		
		Area.	Total maunds.	Average per acre.	Area.	Total maunds.	Average per acre.	Area.	Total maunds.	Average per acre.	Area.	Total maunds.	Average per acre.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		Acres.			Acres.			Acres.			Acres.		
1	Bagaha ...	41,003	4,10,030	10	22,262	2,90,358	9	18,917	90,162	6	70,623	7,75,763	11
2	Shikarpur ...	73,131	8,04,441	11	8,183	22,231	7	3,077	12,369	4	181,300	17,01,066	14
3	Hottia ...	29,577	2,95,770	10	22,007	2,29,970	10	17,191	1,37,029	8	89,080	10,68,360	13
4	Adapur ...	64,790	7,12,270	13	1,420	12,790	9	2,112	8,448	4	48,340	6,76,760	14
5	Dhaka ...	36,051	3,90,561	11	9,592	86,324	9	13,313	1,22,504	8	61,368	7,48,594	13
6	Motihari ...	16,111	1,35,009	9	12,568	1,34,214	11	14,724	1,17,702	8	31,105	3,42,168	11
7	Gobindganj ...	3,844	34,440	10	18,763	1,87,630	10	20,624	2,05,240	10	41,602	4,16,020	10
8	Kesaria ...	1,079	10,790	10	20,477	2,25,357	11	19,024	1,90,240	10	43,321	4,33,210	10
9	Madhuban ...	2,080	14,765	9	8,600	1,66,272	12	5,221	67,431	11	18,218	1,82,180	10
	District Total	256,071	28,24,066	11	119,468	12,06,924	10	112,203	9,61,593	8	625,900	63,43,988	13

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA	RABI									REMARKS
		WHEAT.			BARLEY			GRAM.			
		Area.	Total maunds	Per acre.	Area	Total maunds	Per acre.	Area.	Total maunds	Per acre.	
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
		Acres.			Acres.			Acres.			
1	Bagsha	10,776	86,208	8	21,401	1,73,007	7	2,874	23,963	8	
2	Shikarpur	19,563	1,66,803	8 1/2	14,163	1,13,390	8	13,571	81,426	6	
3	Hottia	30,036	2,13,638	0	30,036	2,70,324	9	4,410	20,728	7	
4	Adapur	6,407	38,412	6	24,490	1,71,403	7	5,684	51,156	9	
5	Dhaka	8,088	83,024	0	37,973	3,41,748	0	7,853	34,971	7	
6	Motihari	9,063	63,141	7	32,667	3,26,670	10	2,161	16,127	7	
7	Gobindganj	10,032	92,924	8 1/2	20,168	2,01,300	10	120	960	8	
8	Kesaria	12,169	97,297	6	19,047	1,98,087	11	350	2,800	8	
9	Madhuban	3,634	32,704	9	11,719	1,40,628	12	129	903	7	
	District Total	1,03,203	8,43,348	8	214,099	19,38,343	9	37,161	2,61,288	7	

565. Another element is the price of the produce. In the following table the average prices for the period 1891—95 are furnished. They have been worked out from the information contained in Mr. Macpherson's report, supplemented by our own

special inquiries. Ten per cent. is deducted to cover the danger of overestimating:—

Serial No.	NAME OF ARTICLE.	Name of harvest.	Average price per maund.	Average prices after allowing deduction of 10 per cent.	Average prices of aghani, bhadai and rabi.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1	Makai ...	Bhadai ...	1 12 6	1 10 0	1 8 9	
2	Marua ...	Do. ...	1 10 3	1 8 0		
3	Kodo ...	Do. ...	1 2 0	1 0 0		
4	Sawan ...	Do. ...	1 10 0	1 8 0		
5	Bajra ...	Do. ...	1 10 0	1 8 0		
6	Jawar ...	Do. ...	1 10 0	1 8 0		
7	Rice ...	Do. and Aghani.	2 7 9	2 4 0		
8	Yams ...	Aghani ...	...	0 8 0	3 1 6	
9	Wheat ...	Rabi ...	2 11 0	2 7 0		
10	Barley ...	Do. ...	1 13 0	1 10 0		
11	Gram ...	Do. ...	1 14 0	1 11 0		
12	Other food-grains, including pulses.	Do. ...	1 12 6	1 10 0		
13	Til ...	Do. ...	4 6 0	4 0 0		
14	Linseed ...	Do. ...	3 12 0	3 7 0		
15	Mustard ...	Do. ...	3 7 0	3 2 0		
16	Other crops, including oil-seeds.	Do. ...	1 12 6	1 10 0	14 3 0 5 0 0	
17	Poppy seeds ...	Do. ...	...	4 0 0		
18	Spices ...	Do. ...	6 9 0	6 0 0		
19	Safflower ...	Do. ...	6 9 0	6 0 0		
20	Sugarcane ...	Do. ...	2 9 0	2 5 0		
21	Potatoes ...	Do. ...	1 2 0	1 0 0		
22	Cotton, cleaned ...	Do. ...	15 12 0	14 3 0		
23	Tobacco ...	Do. ...	...	5 0 0		

566. The total gross value of the agricultural produce of the district therefore works out to Rs. 3,52,68,908-4-6, that is, to Rs. 24-5-9 per acre on the net cropped area. The details are as under:—

Serial number.	CROPS.	Total area under each crop.	Average outturn per acre.	Total outturn under each crop.	Average price per maund.	Total value of agricultural produce under each crop.	Average value of produce per acre, including twice cropped land.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
				Mrs. S.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1	Wheat ...	108,908	8	8,48,120 0	2 7 0	20,00,000 0	18 0 0	
2	Barley ...	2,14,099	7	10,26,801 0	1 10 6	81,97,761 0	38 0 0	
3	Gram ...	87,161	8	2,00,127 0	1 11 0	4,54,946 0	51 0 0	
4	Other food-grains, including pulses.	207,944	8	16,63,664 0	1 10 0	27,03,464 0	13 0 0	
5	Linseed ...	68,881	8	3,10,408 0	3 7 0	4,57,144 11 0	66 0 0	
6	Til ...	8,680	8	10,400 0	4 0 0	43,600 0 0	50 0 0	
7	Mustard ...	8,725	0	40,825 0	3 2 0	2,61,015 10 0	30 0 0	
8	Other crops, including oil-seeds.	12,694	10	1,56,980 0	3 0 0	4,70,980 0 0	37 0 0	
9	Spices ...	8,978	5	20,800 0	6 0 0	1,70,340 0 0	19 0 0	
10	Safflower ...	11,153	25	2,79,472 0	2 5 0	6,44,872 3 0	58 0 0	
11	Cotton ...	2,121	3	6,363 0	14 8 0	80,092 0 0	38 0 0	
12	Jute and mesta ...	4,889	3	14,598 0	3 0 0	50,400 0 0	10 0 0	
13	Safflower ...	1,750	8 paces	350 0	5 0 0	2,154 0 0	12 0 0	
14	Opium ...	55,881	54 paces	7,308 7	6 paces	17,00,072 0 0	30 0 0	
15	Tobacco ...	5,475	15	32,045 0	5 0 0	1,60,225 0 0	29 0 0	
16	Potatoes ...	2,475	20	2,41,240 0	1 0 0	2,61,240 0 0	106 0 0	
17	Rice ...	788,061	11	86,09,271 0	9 4 0	1,74,38,775 12 0	22 0 0	
18	Sawan ...	25,000	5	2,81,272 0	1 8 0	2,40,804 0 0	96 0 0	
19	Yams ...	12,154	75	14,25,050 0	0 8 0	2,17,525 0 0	18 0 0	
20	Jawar ...	4,800	10	20,430 0	1 10 0	37,725 12 0	77 0 0	
21	Bajra ...	4,175	10	41,725 0	1 0 0	62,025 0 0	15 0 0	
22	Marua ...	17,800	8	1,84,800 0	1 8 0	3,34,807 0 0	19 0 0	
23	Makai ...	110,000	10	11,00,000 0	1 10 0	17,47,000 0 0	15 0 0	
24	Kodo ...	1,15,000	8	9,34,725 00	1 0 0	9,34,725 0 0	81 0 0	
25	Garden produce ...	2,500	...	...	15 0 0	44,054 0 0	17 0 0	
26	Non-food—Kharrani ...	87,240	...	...	7 7 0	5,30,280 0 0	61 0 0	
27	Other vegetable—Khakri and kharbaz.	1,750	...	...	15 0 0	20,000 0 0	11 0 0	
28	Fodder crop ...	1,800	...	...	5 0 0	7,000 0 0	39 0 0	
29	Indian hemp and others ...	650	...	...	...	500 0 0	76 0 0	
	Total ...	1,294,200	...	1,46,77,714 97	...	2,52,68,908 4 6	19 5 1	

Notes—Gross value of produce on net cropped area, Rs. 24-5-9.

567. In trying to arrive at agricultural profits the next element to consider, is cost of cultivation. The results obtained are furnished in the next statement. The amount of seed

The cost of cultivation, seed. required varies for different crops from one-fourth of a seer to one seer and a fourth per katha. Taking the average Motihari bigha as one of an $8\frac{1}{2}$ hath laggi an acre equals 13 kathas only. For transplanted rice, both *bhadai* and *aghani*, seed is required at the rate of a seer per katha, and for rice sown broadcast, a seer and a fourth. For all other *bhadai* crops the rate is one-fourth seer per katha, except for *kodo*, which requires a seer. For all important *rabi* crops—wheat and barley and cereals like *arhar*—the rate is one seer per katha, but for peas, gram, *khesari*, and *masuri* and such like the rate rises to $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers. Oil-seeds, on the other hand, like most *bhadai* crops, do not require more than one-fourth seer per katha.

568. *Cost of labour*.—Labour comprises the following operations:—

- (1) Digging up into clods. This is done for important crops, or on soils that become overgrown with weeds.
- (2) Ploughing.
- (3) Transplanting.
- (4) Weeding.
- (5) Reaping and threshing.
- (6) Husking and cleaning.

It is only special crops that are manured and irrigated.

Labour is remunerated generally in kind, but not uncommonly in cash as well—an innovation arising from the example of the planters. Mr. Macpherson has the following on the present state of wages in the district and their relation to prices of food-grains:—

“The wages of labour have not risen in this district in unison with the rise in prices, either as a normal condition or during the present year of famine. I have examined the wages recorded in the General Administration Reports since the famine of 1874, and find very little change. In the year 1874-75 the wages of unskilled labour, that is, for a common cooly and agricultural labourer, were reported to be two annas for a man, one and-a-half annas for a woman and one anna for a boy. These rates have continued ever since, except that since the opening of the railway (in 1883) they are shown as ranging also up to about half an anna more in each case, so that we may take the average rise as a quarter of an anna. In addition to the above, it has all along been customary to add a small quantity of parched barley or maize for a mid-day meal, which adds slightly more than a quarter of an anna to the wage. All things considered, the average wage of an adult male cooly now may be taken as a little over two and-a-half annas, as against two and one-fourth annas twenty years ago, a rise of about 11 or 12 per cent. The mean price of the food-grains available for comparison (common rice, wheat, barley and gram) has risen from $23\frac{1}{2}$ seers during the four years 1870-73 to $17\frac{1}{2}$ seers during the five years 1891-95, i.e., by 30.6 per cent. As compared with the five years 1875-79, however the rise in prices during the six years 1891-96 has been only 16.9 per cent. But no doubt the wages quoted in 1875 were those current also before the famine of 1874.

Field labourers are, however, mostly paid in kind, and in this light, the scale of wages has risen in proportion to the rise in prices in so far as the rates of their grain allowances have remained uniform. As these have probably changed but little, we may fairly assume that the ordinary wage of the agricultural labourer at the present day, is a good deal above $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas, probably over three annas. This should be borne in mind in comparing the wage paid on famine relief and the average cost of relief per head of the population, but of course employment is not usually continuous as in the case of famine relief.”

In my opinion three annas as the wage including breakfast of an adult male is too high an estimate. I don't believe it to exceed two and-a-half annas and shall take the latter rate for purposes of calculation. There are one or two forms of labour that are always paid in kind or, to speak more strictly, in the actual produce of the field itself. Thus for reaping, the labourer gets one *bofla* or bundle out of 16 harvested, and in threshing and husking one maund out of 16 threshed and husked. Then come the implement repairers and the watchman, if any, who obtain ten dhurs each per bigha or $\frac{1}{10}$ th in all, if paid in kind. Generally, however, the raiyat does not have a watchman. He guards the crops himself or deputes a regular servant to do so. The harber and the washerman also come in for their share in the produce, the rate depending on the size of the cultivator's family. No separate provision is made in these calculations for the feed of bullocks, because they are maintained on the straw and chaff of the produce.

589. The cost of cultivation, including the cultivator's personal labour, is
Total cost of cultivation. furnished in the following statement:—

Serial number.	NAME OF CROP.	GROSS PRODUCE.					COST OF CULTIVATION OF ALL CROPS PER ACRE OF 15 KATARS.											
		Crops.		Other kinds.	Total.	Seed grains.	Preparatory cultivation.	Pleasuring, inclusive of cost of sowing.	Trans-planting.	Weeding.	Reaping & the produce where paid out of it.							
		Quantity in measure.	Value in rupees.	Quantity in measure.	Value in rupees.	Value in rupees.	Quantity in measure.	Value in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Cost in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Wages in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Wages in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Wages in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Wages in rupees.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Bhadol.																		
1	Rice transplanted	12	27 0 0	...	...	27 0 0	13	0 11 9	13	2 0 6	6	1 3 0	13	2 0 6	...	...	5	1 11 0
2	" broadcast	10	23 4 0	...	...	23 4 0	16	0 14 6	13	2 0 6	6	1 3 0	...	...	...	...	7	1 4 8
3	Makhi	10	14 4 0	...	...	14 4 0	31	0 3 0	4	0 10 0	4	0 10 0	...	...	...	...	4	1 0 0
4	Mara	9	13 8 0	...	...	13 8 0	32	0 2 0	4	0 10 0	2	0 6 0	12	2 0 6	...	...	4	0 18 0
5	Kodo	84	8 8 0	...	...	8 8 0	10	0 5 0	6	0 10 0	6	0 12 0	...	...	...	...	3	0 8 8
Aphani.																		
6	Rice transplanted	18	29 4 0	...	...	29 4 0	13	0 11 9	18	2 0 6	8	1 8 0	15	2 0 6	...	...	7	1 12 0
7	" broadcast	11	24 12 0	...	...	24 12 0	10	0 16 6	18	2 0 6	8	1 8 0	...	...	...	...	7	1 7 6
8	Alma, suthni	75	37 8 0	...	...	37 8 0	...	3 0 0	10	1 9 0	2	0 8 0	6	0 15 0	...	...	12	2 5 8
Rabi.																		
9	Wheat	8	19 8 0	...	...	19 8 0	18	0 12 3	8	0 12 6	10	1 14 0	...	...	...	...	8	1 8 6
10	Barley	7	14 14 8	...	...	14 14 8	13	0 8 0	5	0 14 0	8	1 14 0	...	...	...	...	6	0 15 0
11	Pear	7	10 8 0	...	...	10 8 0	16	0 9 6	8	0 12 6	8	1 12 0	...	...	...	...	2	0 10 0
12	Gram	7	11 12 0	...	...	11 12 0	10	0 11 0	5	0 12 6	8	1 12 0	...	...	...	...	2	0 8 0
13	Khesari	8	15 0 0	...	...	15 0 0	16	0 10 6	4	0 10 0	6	1 10 0	...	...	...	...	4	0 13 0
14	Arhar	10	21 4 8	...	...	21 4 8	15	0 1 0	4	0 10 0	4	0 12 0	...	...	...	...	7	1 5 3
15	Potatoes	80	60 0 0	...	...	60 0 0	9	0 8 0	4	0 10 0	10	1 14 0	15	2 0 6	...	...	2	1 9 0
16	Masuri	8	7 2 0	...	...	7 2 0	13	0 6 3	4	0 10 0	2	0 6 0	...	...	...	...	2	0 7 0
Non-food crops.																		
17	Sugarcane	...	...	25	54 4 0	54 4 0	...	3 0 0	20	2 8 0	10	1 14 0	6	0 15 0	10	1 9 0	15	2 6 0
18	Tobacco	...	...	13	65 0 0	65 0 0	...	2 0 0	13	2 0 6	10	1 14 0	12	1 14 0	20	4 1 0	5	1 8 0
19	Poppy	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	5	0 12 0	10	1 14 0	4	0 10 0	...	...	8	0 10 0
20	Cotton	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 3	13	0 12 6	8	0 9 0	...	...	...	...	3	0 10 0
21	Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 6	8	0 9 6	8	0 9 0	...	...	...	...	3	0 7 6
22	Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 6 3	8	0 7 6	8	0 9 0	...	...	...	...	3	0 7 6

Serial number.	NAME OF CROP.	Payment for watchmen, implement repairs and others, with the produce, where paid of it.	INCIDENTAL COST.												Highest cost in rupees.	Approximate cost adopted for calculation.	REMARKS.		
			Husking and cleaning, & of produce.		Special processes.	Total cost in rupees.		Manuring.			Irrigation.								
			Number of labourers.	Value of wages in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Value of wages in rupees.	Number of labourers.	Value of wages in rupees.	Total.	Number of labourers.	Wages in rupees.	Price of manure.	Total.	Number of labourers.				Wages in rupees.	
			20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Bhadol.																			
1	Rice transplanted	1 6 8	9	1 11 0	...	...	10	0 15 6	10 11 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10 11 3	16 0	
2	" broadcast	1 8 0	7	1 0 4	...	...	20	8 0 0	8 16 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 16 0	8 0	
3	Makhi	0 13 0	5	2 0 0	...	...	46	7 10 0	7 12 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7 12 0	8 0	
4	Mara	0 11 8	4	0 15 6	...	...	66	8 18 0	8 5 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 18 0	8 8	
5	Kodo	0 7 0	3	0 8 8	...	...	20	2 12 0	4 3 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 3 0	0 0	
Aphani.																			
6	Rice transplanted	1 7 6	9	1 12 0	...	...	40	14 10 8	11 6 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11 6 3	10 8	
7	" broadcast	1 8 0	7	1 7 8	...	...	41	8 0 0	0 6 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 0 0	10 8	
8	Alma, suthni	1 12 8	12	2 5 2	...	...	44	10 5 6	12 5 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12 5 6	12 4	
Rabi.																			
9	Wheat	0 15 6	6	1 8 6	...	...	27	6 1 0	6 13 3	4	0 10 0	1 0 0	2 2 0	...	...	...	8 16 3	0 0	
10	Barley	0 12 0	5	0 15 0	...	...	23	4 16 6	4 8 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 8 3	5 6	
11	Pear	0 8 3	3	0 10 6	...	...	17	3 11 9	4 8 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 8 3	4 6	
12	Gram	0 7 0	3	0 8 0	...	...	15	3 7 0	4 2 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 2 0	6 3	
13	Khesari	0 10 8	4	0 12 0	...	...	14	4 0 6	4 11 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 11 0	4 12	
14	Arhar	1 1 0	7	1 8 8	...	...	23	4 1 6	6 18 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6 18 9	8 18	
15	Potatoes	0 6 0	3	0 10 8	...	...	29	7 9 6	20 0 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20 0 9	20 0	
16	Masuri	0 5 6	2	0 7 0	...	...	10	2 3 8	2 9 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 9 9	2 10	
Non-food crops.																			
17	Sugarcane	1 4 0	...	...	...	...	50	11 4 0	14 4 8	4	0 10 0	1 9 9	2 2 0	...	...	...	16 8 0	16 8	
18	Tobacco	...	...	...	...	...	13	8 14 6	10 6 0	4	0 10 0	1 8 0	2 2 0	7	1 1 8	...	16 0 0	21 0	
19	Poppy	...	...	...	...	...	57	9 8 0	10 6 0	6	0 15 0	1 8 0	2 7 0	12	1 8 0	...	16 0 0	16 0	
20	Cotton	...	...	...	...	...	26	6 11 6	6 12 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6 12 9	6 0	
21	Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	16	3 3 8	3 7 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 7 6	3 8	
22	Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	18	3 6 0	3 8 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 8 8	3 8	

570. The highest cost of cultivation is for rice Rs. 10-8 an acre. This is followed by wheat at Rs. 9 per acre. *Makai* and *marua* though requiring much weeding cost somewhat less. The cost of cultivation for all other crops is less than Rs. 6 per acre except of course special crops, such as opium and tobacco. Some of the figures appear rather high, but the labour rate is higher in Champaran than in Muzaffarpur. Then, as I have said, the estimate is in a way fictitious, for the ordinary cultivator does much of the work himself.

571. The average cost of cultivation for each harvest worked out in the area found to be occupied by each crop is given below:--

Serial number	NAME OF CROP.	Whether rabi or bhadai or aghani.	Total area under each crop.	Average cost of cultivation per acre of each crop.	Total cost of cultivation of each crop.	Average cost of cultivation per acre of bhadai, rabi, and aghani crops.	Average of net cost of cultivation per acre.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Rabi.								
			Acres.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1	Wheat	Rabi	108,365	9 0 0	9,67,385 0 0			
2	Barley	Do.	914,009	5 4 0	11,34,019 12 0			
3	Gram	Do.	87,161	4 2 0	1,43,280 2 0			
4	Other food-grains, including pulses	Do.	2,07,958	4 5 6	9,33,917 9 0			
5	Linseed	Do.	63,891	3 2 0	2,23,553 8 0			
6	Til	Do.	5,450	3 0 0	16,350 0 0			
7	Mustard	Do.	8,623	3 8 0	31,237 8 0			
8	Other crops, including oil-seeds	Do.	15,006	5 8 0	85,528 0 0			
9	Spices	Do.	5,079	9 4 0	55,296 8 0			
10	Sugarcane	Do.	11,138	16 8 0	1,84,087 8 0			
11	Cotton	Do.	2,121	5 0 0	10,606 0 0			
12	Rafflower	Do.	1,795	2 8 0	4,467 8 0			
13	Opium	Do.	63,894	14 0 0	7,50,516 0 0			
14	Tobacco	Do.	2,465	21 4 0	52,881 4 0			
15	Potatoes	Do.	3,266	26 8 0	84,916 0 0			
	Total		784,809		46,27,576 2 0	6 2 9		
Bhadai.								
16	Makai	Bhadai	119,866	8 0 0	9,58,944 0 0			
17	Marua	Do.	17,845	8 8 0	1,47,772 8 0			
18	Kodo	Do.	112,203	4 0 0	4,48,812 0 0			
19	Rauhan	Do.	28,906	3 8 0	1,01,181 8 0			
20	Rice	Do.	250,071	10 0 0	25,00,710 0 0			
21	Hajra	Do.	4,175	4 8 0	10,047 8 0			
22	Jawar	Do.	5,983	4 8 0	20,628 8 0			
	Total		545,194		42,07,336 0 0	7 13 3		
Aghani.								
23	Rice	Aghani	525,090	10 8 0	56,22,495 0 0			
24	Tennis	Do.	19,134	12 4 0	2,34,391 8 0			
	Total		545,124		57,57,246 8 0	10 8 11		
25	Podder crop		1,588	1 8 0	2,382 0 0			
26	Garden produce		5,937	2 0 0	11,874 0 0			
27	Other vegetables, kakri and kharbua		1,792	7 0 0	12,544 0 0			
28	Non-food and kharaul		80,208	1 8 0	1,20,312 0 0			
29	Jute and munj		4,865	1 8 0	7,290 0 0			
30	Indian hemp and others		850		150 0 0			
	Total		95,241		1,54,601 0 0	1 8 11		
	GRAND TOTAL		1,924,868		1,48,06,753 11 0		7 11 1	Bay Rs. 7-10

572. Thus the average cost of cultivation is Rs. 6-2-9 per acre for *rabi*, Rs. 10-8-11 for *aghani*, and Rs. 7-13-3 for *bhadai*. The general average is Rs. 7-10 per acre.

573. We have now to determine the cost of living in Champaran for an average cultivator's family. The census figures work out to an average of six souls per occupied house or family in the district which consists of (avoiding fractions) two males, two females and two children. They ought to live on Rs. 77 a year, as worked out below:—

	Br.	Brs.	Males & Ch.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1. Grains, cheaper kind 6 persons at 2 = 4½ per day × 365 = 41 2 8 at 1 6 0 per maund = 56 7 8					
2. Vegetables	6	at 2 = 12	× 365 = 6 88 12	at 0 4 0	— 1 11 3
3. Salt	6	at 1 = 6	× 365 = 0 17 12	at 4 0 0	— 1 11 3
4. Oil	6	at 1 = 6	× 365 = 0 17 12	at 9 0 0	— 3 13 6
5. Spices	6	at 1 = 6	× 365 = 0 17 12	at 6 0 0	— 2 7 6
6. Tobacco	6	at 4 annas per month, or Rs. 2 per year	...	...	— 3 0 0
7. Four dhotis for 2 males at 10 annas each for one year	...	...	...	...	— 2 8 0
8. Four saris for 2 females at 14 annas each for one year	...	...	...	...	— 3 8 0
9. Four small dhotis for 2 children at 4 annas each for one year	...	...	...	...	— 1 0 0
10. Extra expense	...	...	...	...	— 0 8 0
Total	...	...	...	...	76 10 9

The average comes to Rs. 12-12-6 per head. Dr. Grierson has worked it out to be Rs. 15 per head in Gaya, but the standard of living is lower in Champaran, and Dr. Grierson, as I have pointed out in my report on Gaya, makes no reduction in his rate per head for the larger size of family. If it costs a family of four Rs. 15 per head to live, it will certainly cost a family of six a less rate, because a large percentage of the units are women and children who eat less.

574.. Next it is necessary to get the average area of land held by an average family. We know the area held by raiyats to be 1,276,825 acres, and the net income after deducting cost of cultivation and rent and adding the value of the cultivator's own labour comes out as follows:—

Number.	DESCRIPTION OF RAIYATS.	Cultivated area.	Area under produce rent.	Total.	Rent.	Produce rental calculated at Rs. 2-8 per acre.	Total.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Fixed rates ...	22,340		22,340	30,032		30,030	
2	Occupancy raiyats ...	114,000	50,400	1,200,137	25,03,256	1,48,246	26,09,501	
3	Non-occupancy raiyats ...	24,304	10,878	45,342	60,824	27,000	90,833	
	Total ...	1,207,080	60,820	1,276,825	24,63,080	1,75,340	26,38,400	

	Acres.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
The gross value of the produce.	1,276,825 × 24 5 9 =	3,11,02,658	15	9			
Deduct the total cost of cultivation.	1,276,825 × 7 10 0 =	97,85,790	10	0			
The balance is ...		2,13,06,868	5	9			
Deduct rent ...		20,80,766	0	0			
The balance is ...		1,87,80,102	5	9			
Add $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cost of cultivation as set-off for the cultivator's own labour.		73,01,842	15	6			
The net income therefore is ...		2,60,31,945	5	3			

or Rs. 20-6-8 per acre of the not cropped area.

575. In assessing produce-rent the rate has been taken at Rs. 2 8 per acre. The cash rent-rate is only Re. 1-12, but this is very low. On the other hand, the area held rent-free has been excluded. All petty rent-free holders have substantial rent-paying holdings of their own, so that they are well off. Thus the net income per acre comes to Rs. 20-6, or nearly twelve times the rent-rate.

576. An average cultivator's family requires, as I have said, Rs. 75 per annum to live on. Therefore the subsistence holding, by which I mean a holding sufficient to

support an average family in fair comfort, ought to be 3·7 acres, or allowing for the portion necessarily left uncultivated, say 4 acres. Though this size is the district average, I think a distinction is required between the Bettia and Sadar subdivision. In the former the *bhadai* and *rabi* crops are inferior, and some of the paddy land is not very productive. It is not so well cultivated. On the other hand, it is not given the same labour. All things considered, it is safest to take the subsistence holding in Bettia at 5 acres, and in the southern subdivision, where crops are more varied and secure, and profitable markets more accessible, at 3½ acres.

577. In a previous chapter I have shown the average size of an occupancy holding thana by thana to be in the district as follows:—

	Acres.
Bagaha ...	7·
Shikarpur ...	7·
Bettia ...	5·
Bettia Subdivision—	6·
Adapur ...	5·
Dhaka ...	4·5
Motihari ...	5·
Gobindganj ...	5·
Kesaria ...	4·
Madhuban ...	3·5
Sadar subdivision ...	4·
District average ...	5·

As settled occupancy raiyats practically cover the whole *raiya* (rent-paying) area, the above figures can be given general application. Thus the average-sized holding in the district is 5 acres, or one acre more than the subsistence holding.

578. Mr. Skrine, while investigating the material condition of the lower orders in Bengal in 1891-92, recorded the following official opinion on the material condition of Champaran. general opinion on this point:—

"It has been found that a holding at 5 acres is enough to provide an average family of as many souls with every reasonable comfort, and that a fair living may be made in ordinary years from one of 3 acres."

In other words, his estimate of a "subsistence" holding for a family of 5 is 3 acres, so that ours of 4 for a family of 6 is, according to his standard, an over-estimate, if anything. When it is seen that the average size of a holding in the district is an acre larger, and in no thana less than the subsistence holding, the obvious inference is that the agricultural classes must live in a condition of prosperity. Indeed, Mr. Skrine was led, no doubt by considerations of this nature, to assign the highest place in the scale of prosperity in the Patna Division to Champaran. He observed:—

"Champaran, to the north, is the best off of all. The soil is more fertile than that of the neighbouring tracts, there is still a reserve of land available for cultivation, and the population is at yet only 526 to a square mile."

He was mainly impressed by the density of the population, for he prefaces his remarks with the following statement:—

"The material condition of the lower classes of the Patna Division varies inversely with the pressure of the population on the soil."

This dictum is a pure fallacy. It is in fact in the thanas where population is most dense that it is also most prosperous. Witness Saran on the one side and North Champaran on the other. But Mr. Skrine was not exceptional in his opinion of the degree of prosperity that Champaran enjoyed.

579. Mr. Worsley, who was long in charge of the district, wrote:—

"After all I had heard about the impoverished condition of the lower classes in Champaran I was certainly most agreeably surprised to find such a very different state of things from what I had expected. I consider Champaran to be one of the most prosperous districts in which I have served."

"The people (Biharies) are well fed, well clothed and moderately well housed; rents appear generally to be very reasonable, and there are pasture lands in abundance for the support of cattle. During my tours I have walked through hundreds of villages and have been often struck with the substantial, clean and comfortable appearance which they presented. The contrast between this district and Muzaffarpur is very marked, and there can be little doubt that to the moderate population of the one and to the excessive population of the other is mainly due the favourable or unfavourable condition of the peasantry. There are good grounds for believing that at an early period of this century the population of what is now Muzaffarpur district was almost as sparse as that of Champaran at the present day."

"The people of this district, therefore, have hitherto escaped the rack-renting and other injurious effects of competition for land, to which the raiyats of Muzaffarpur have been subjected during the last 50 or 60 years."

"The extensive poppy cultivation in this district, for which the soil is in many places admirably suited; the enormous timber business carried on by Messrs. Dear & Co. of Monghyr, which gives constant employment to many thousands of cart-men and wood-cutters; the exceptional facilities for irrigation, and the proximity of the district to important grain marts in Nepal—all combine to place the people of Champaran in a specially advantageous position. If the raiyats here are much indebted to mahajans, I cannot but think that such indebtedness must have been chiefly brought about by their own improvidence."

580. Mr. Henry, another Collector, endorsed the above remarks in his general administration report of 1883-84. His arguments, too, were sparse population and no competition for land, but he also concedes the striking indebtedness of the peasantry.

581. Mr. Worsley, writing again on this subject in the annual report for 1886-87, observed:—

"Further experience and careful observation have entirely confirmed me in the opinion which I recorded in the annual administration report for 1883-84 regarding the prosperous condition of the people of Champaran."

"The last three years have been marked by good or fair harvests of food-grains, opium and of sugarcane, and the extension of the railways has opened new markets for the produce of the district. The following extract from the report of Mr. Bright, who has a thorough

knowledge of all parts of his subdivision, describes with general accuracy the condition of the raiyats throughout the district.

"Prices of common rice are lower than they have been for three years past, and in spite of the increased demand for wheat and the pooriness of the *makai* crop, their prices are lower than they have been for the last three years. Benefited by the lowness of price, by the goodness of the general harvest, and the increased demand, the raiyat's condition is an excellent one for him. Unharassed by the oppressions of the petty landlord, holding a good jote at a very reasonable and often a very low rent, he might well be the object of envy to his poorer brethren of Tirhut. The large herds of cattle, the number of new granaries to be seen in every village, and the increased eagerness of the people to expend their money by bringing to Court most trivial complaints, which in less prosperous years they would have left unnoticed—all these outward signs testify to the satisfactory condition of the ordinary raiyat. Yet with all this even the fairly well-to-do man wears very poor clothes considering his status, and lives in a *tatti* or mud-walled hut, at which the less prosperous raiyats of Tirhut would often turn up their noses in disgust, not because he cannot afford better clothes and better lodging, but because the standard of comfort is a low one. Another point, and this by no means the least important in considering the material condition of the people, is the almost total absence of serious crime against property. The number of thefts is inconsiderable considering the area of the subdivision, and the amount of property stolen, ridiculously small. In fact, now that the Domes have been settled and are leaving off their old habits of stealing, property is wonderfully secure, considering the extremely small proportion which the police force bears to the population, and the large areas which are included in the thana and outpost jurisdictions."

It is an important admission that the people are so badly housed, for this is the first thing to the improvement of which a Hindu cultivator with spare cash pays attention. Again, crime statistics are altogether inconclusive, and, taking an exporting district generally, very low prices are a decided disadvantage.

582. Inquiries were instituted by the Government of India in 1888 into the general material condition of the lower orders. The Commissioner of Patna, in criticising the report submitted by the Collector of Champaran on this subject, observed:—

"By this report Champaran is better off than any district in the Division; better even than Shahabad. And yet some of the facts are hard to reconcile with this. 'Sixty per cent. of the population either have no holding or cultivate holdings of two acres or less,' and, again, 'the average holding of cultivated land of a family in the district is only 4½ acres."

"If it was so, and 60 per cent. of the people were so poorly off, how could the district be prosperous on the whole?"

In truth, Mr. Boxwell's interrogation suggests the only safe line of investigation. It is essential, before a sound estimate of the material condition of a district can be formed, to take measure of the circumstances of the lowest orders in the district and to ascertain what proportion they bear to the whole.

583. Mr. Henry, in his estimate that 4½ acres was the average size of a holding, went, as I have shown, very near to the truth. He held that 60 per cent. of the population had small holdings or none at all. This obviously is an over-statement. I shall now attempt to determine to what extent it requires modification. In the following statement the settlement holdings for 180 villages have been apportioned into those of 1 acre and under, of 2 acres and under, of 3 acres and under, of 4 acres and under, of 5 acres and under, of over 5 acres:—

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	TOTAL NUMBER OF HOLDINGS												REMARKS.	
		Total.	Under one acre.		Under two acres.		Under three acres.		Under four acres.		Under five acres.		Over five acres.		
			Holding. No.	Percentage total.	Holding. No.	Percentage total.	Holding. No.	Percentage total.	Holding. No.	Percentage total.	Holding. No.	Percentage total.	Holding. No.		Percentage total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Banaha	1,071	1,417	29.9	1,077	21.1	797	14.4	629	9.6	349	7.0	994	19.7	
2	Shikharpur	4,070	1,514	25.3	787	19.3	534	14.5	291	9.7	213	7.9	961	24.4	
3	Bettia	1,980	728	18.9	627	26.4	630	16.3	465	11.4	223	7.3	944	24.7	
4	Adapur	1,434	694	16.9	601	16.9	543	16.3	378	10.4	316	8.9	1,145	20.9	
5	Dikar	1,243	928	21.9	630	19.3	545	14.0	470	9.5	223	6.8	1,213	20.4	
6	Motihari	1,900	637	21.9	708	19.3	545	14.0	407	10.8	346	7.6	1,043	20.7	
7	Gobindganj	1,408	1,771	25.8	743	19.3	562	14.2	436	10.4	365	8.6	900	22.5	
8	Kesaria	4,437	1,609	24.4	641	21.4	563	13.7	347	8.6	306	6.9	983	22.4	
9	Madhupur	1,305	603	27.8	604	23.7	516	14.7	314	9.1	217	6.3	999	19.4	
	District Average	20,284	9,361	23.6	7,343	20.3	5,360	14.8	3,404	9.0	2,606	7.2	8,920	24.3	

584. Now each of these holdings does not comprise all the land held by a single family. If a family has land under different status or under different landlords then it is recorded under different holdings. For this reason these figures do not represent actual facts, and again they have been compiled for a very restricted number of villages, though they were selected with care. Nevertheless, the percentage of holdings under 2 acres, viz., 44 per cent., is very remarkably large. As a set-off for reduplicated families and for small plots of land held by artisans, this figure should be reduced by at least 25 per cent. For similar reasons the 14·8 per cent. for holdings under 3 acres would prove to be held almost entirely by families in possession of over 4 acres. The conclusions I come to are that about 33 per cent. of the holdings belong to those who supplement agriculture by labour or other callings, and 66 per cent. belong to pure agriculturists. But it is necessary to go further, for it cannot be concluded that all those who hold less than the subsistence holding must live on agricultural labour. As I have said, these are artisans holding a few patches of land, on which they are in no sense dependent for their livelihood. Brahmins, too, are often similarly circumstanced. It is proper therefore to study these statistics still more minutely, and so arrive at a classification according to caste.

585. In the following statement the principal castes, the average size of their holdings, and the proportions of their holdings of different sizes are furnished for the 180 villages examined:—

The relative agricultural position of the various castes.

Serial number.	NAME OF CASTE.	Average size of a holding.	PERCENTAGE OF HOLDING TO TOTAL.						Total number of holdings.	POPULATION IN 1801.	Percentage to total population.
			Under 1 acre.	Under 2 acres.	Under 3 acres.	Under 4 acres.	Under 5 acres.	Over 5 acres.		Both sexes.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Gola	4·3	14·6	19·5	14·7	10·0	8·6	24·0	3,876	183,732	9·9
2	Rajput	6·0	14·8	15·3	13·1	9·1	7·8	39·8	2,642	85,440	4·7
3	Brahman	4·3	23·8	19·9	13·7	8·8	7·1	26·7	5,477	84,418	4·5
4	Koeri	4·8	16·1	15·8	15·3	11·8	8·4	23·6	3,254	104,477	5·9
5	Bhumihar Babhan	6·4	17·5	15·9	11·6	8·5	7·1	30·4	1,678	28,400	1·6
6	Kayastha	5·8	15·1	17·1	14·9	9·6	7·0	36·3	1,342	27,024	1·5
7	Kurmi	3·5	20·1	20·8	14·5	10·5	7·7	20·4	1,646	96,145	5·2
8	Sholkh	4·6	19·4	19·4	14·1	9·6	6·3	31·3	1,765	62,460	3·4
9	Teli	3·8	19·9	21·9	10·4	10·4	7·7	23·7	1,265	58,910	3·2
10	Jolaha	3·7	33·0	21·0	15·4	8·8	5·8	15·3	1,412	80,358	4·3
11	Kanda	3·3	24·0	21·6	10·7	11·3	6·8	19·7	1,263	64,558	3·7
12	Mallah	3·1	25·6	24·2	14·9	9·1	7·5	18·7	1,150	63,070	3·4
13	Dusadh	2·7	30·2	21·0	15·3	10·6	7·4	15·5	1,261	91,452	4·9
14	Chamar	2·2	34·6	23·3	16·5	10·7	5·8	9·1	1,877	126,097	6·8
15	Kalwar	4·2	20·1	16·0	17·0	12·0	5·5	25·8	698	33,796	1·8
16	Nonia	3·8	26·3	20·7	14·0	9·8	6·9	16·0	807	52,063	2·8
17	Johar	3·1	23·9	22·9	16·1	10·7	7·6	18·8	514	28,193	1·5
18	Dhobi	3·1	21·8	23·3	16·4	12·0	8·4	18·1	505	21,395	1·2
19	Turba	3·0	26·3	23·9	18·3	11·7	7·9	12·0	506	26,775	1·4
20	Hajam	3·4	30·6	24·7	17·9	7·6	6·3	15·9	548	27,230	1·5
21	Kumhar	3·1	22·7	22·2	16·9	13·5	6·7	18·0	415	24,954	1·3
22	Hind	2·8	27·7	26·8	16·7	9·1	6·5	13·4	444	27,351	1·5
23	Atitha	4·7	28·2	19·6	16·3	8·9	4·8	23·3	270	11,646	·6
24	Dhanukh	3·6	28·5	17·5	14·2	9·8	8·8	21·3	274	11,460	·6
25	Tatwa	2·0	33·8	21·7	17·3	8·3	4·9	8·3	468	22,801	1·7
26	Gondia	3·3	34·7	20·4	15·3	11·1	10·1	18·4	288	4,753	·3
27	Dhunia	2·5	31·1	26·2	13·5	9·9	6·6	13·7	303	26,944	1·5
28	Harai	3·5	17·3	21·3	14·1	14·3	9·3	27·7	207	11,736	·6
29	Tharu	0·3	15·8	13·2	5·3	10·5	2·6	52·6	34	27,024	1·5
30	Others	3·3	31·0	21·4	18·8	8·8	8·7	19·3	4,007	63,638	3·5
31	Miscellaneous not going by castes.									309,431	16·5
	District figures.	3·9	28·6	20·3	14·8	9·9	7·1	24·3	26,325	1,329,465	100

586. The percentage of holdings over 5 acres can be taken as a rough index of prosperity, but it must always be remembered that the results obtained are liable to modification owing to a single family having more than one holding. They suffice, however, as an approximation. The Tharus head the list with 52·0 per cent. of their holdings over 5 acres, the average size being so large as 9·3 acres. The Tharus, as I have said elsewhere, are probably the most prosperous cultivators in Champaran, but they account for 1·5 per cent. only of the total population and are therefore numerically unimportant. Rajputs and Bhumihar Babhans, the backbone of the high caste peasantry, come next, with 39 per cent. each under this group, the average size of their holdings being 6 acres. Another high caste having a large percentage, viz., 36·3, and a large average holding of 5·8 acres is the Kayasth. These high castes

generally have large holdings, for they cultivate by means of hired labour, and this diminishes very considerably their margin of profit. Koeri, the most skilful and careful of cultivators in Bihar, come next, with a percentage of 35, immediately followed by the most agricultural of all Mussalmans—the Sheikh. This is the last of the castes, with a percentage over 30. The average size of the holdings of Koeri and Sheikh is 4.8 and 4.6 acres, respectively. The average amount of land per family would of course work out somewhat higher than this. Next come the Goalas, the most numerous caste in the district, with 28 per cent. over 5 acres. Brahmins follow with 26.7 per cent. The average size of a holding in either case is 4.3 acres. Kalwar and Atithi follow next with 25 per cent. each, and an average holding comprising over 4 acres. These castes generally lend money to ordinary raiyats and acquire holdings by purchase. Teli, Barai and Kurmi have 20 to 28 per cent. of holdings over 5 acres, all other castes return less than 20 per cent., and the proportion is below 10 in the case of Tatwa and Chamar. These are pure labouring castes, and the average size of their holdings is only 2 acres.

587. Just as the percentages taken above are a relative index to agricultural prosperity, those for one acre and under would denote the reverse, and so demonstrate to what extent each caste contributes to the labouring population. The castes returning over 30 per cent. of their numbers holding less than 1 acre are:—Dhamin, Tatwa, Hajam, Chamár, Dusadh and Jalaha, all of whom work as day-labourers, except perhaps the barber. Between 25 and 30 per cent. come Kurmi, Mallah, Nonia, Turaha, Bind, Dhanuk and Atithi, and they all work as labourers except the Atithi, who, when poor, live by begging. Between 20 and 25 per cent. are found Kandui, Lohar, Dhobi, Kumhar and Gond, but the blacksmith, washerman and potter follow agriculture as a supplementary source of income merely. Thus we find that the agricultural castes who, as I have shown elsewhere, occupy 60 per cent. of the area, have the smallest number of holdings under 1 acre. These castes are—Goala, Rajput, Brahmin, Koeri, Babhan, Kayastha, Kurmi and Sheikh.

588. A fair idea of the relative agricultural position of the various castes can be further obtained by adding together the proportion of their numbers holding according to this statement 2 acres and upwards. The percentage will be found to exceed 60 per cent. in case of Goala, Rajput, Koeri, Bhumi-har, Kayastha, Sheikh, Kalwar, Tharu and Bari, and to fall between 50 and 60 in the case of Brahman, Kurmi, Teli, Kandui, Mallah, Lohar, Dhobi, Kumhar, Atithi, Dhanukh and Gond. Thus the castes named above account for 56 per cent. of the total population. Now we have seen that there is not a single caste which does not return some holdings under 2 acres, and this emphasises the impossibility of classifying all those who hold below a certain acreage as cultivators without consideration of their castes.

589. I have estimated that 33 per cent. of the population is only partially dependent on agriculture. From the statistics that have been furnished and the high percentage of small holdings, it is obvious that everyone almost must have a patch or two of land. It can therefore be estimated with safety that not more than 25 per cent. of the population consists of those who supplement their agriculture with manual labour. It has been said in the chapter dealing with population that 85 per cent. of the district population is dependent in whole or part on agriculture. This 85 per cent. will thus be comprised of the following elements:—

Pure cultivators	...	...	57
Cultivating labourers	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ of 28 or 21
Cultivators who follow other professions	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ of 28 or 7
Total	...	...	85

590. The only other class with which we are concerned is that of the landless labourer. The last census returns them as 18 per cent. of the total population, but these figures certainly include some of those who supplement their labour by

agriculture, and on this account ought to be reduced by one-third, or to 9 per cent. The total population of the district then can be apportioned in the following way :—

(1) Pure cultivators ...	...	...	57
(2) Ditto with other professions ...	...	...	7
(3) Cultivating labourers ...	...	...	21
(4) Landless ditto ...	...	...	9
(5) Miscellaneous ...	...	...	6
Total ...			100

591. In my opinion Mr. Henry's estimate of 60 per cent. of the population being either small cultivators or landless is twice too high, if by small cultivator he meant those who required for the support of their families to supplement agriculture by manual labour.

General conclusions.

592. The optimistic views of the high degree of prosperity in Champaran to which I have referred receive a most emphatic contradiction from the fact that, given a failure of the rice crop, Champaran is the first district to succumb to distress. In view of its acute susceptibility to famine, general statements of its internal prosperity are either valueless or misleading. Where a district with land plentiful and population sparse has one-third of its people compelled to eke out a living by labour, that district can lay no claim to a general prosperity. Where that district has in addition $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of its raiyati land transferred by sale and 1 per cent. mortgaged, or a total of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., thus alienated in the 10 years, with 40 per cent. of the transferees belonging to the class of professional money-lenders, its claim to this condition becomes still further diminished.

593. I have furnished the views of the local authorities who have held Champaran to be a prosperous district. In my opinion it is in view of its potentialities infinitely the most backward in the Patna Division, and I will quote some authoritative remarks in confirmation of this. In Doctor Hunter's Statistical Account of Champaran, it is said :—

"The people of Champaran, as a rule, are badly off. The whole agricultural population is in debt to the mahajan or village money-lender, who has advanced money or grain on the security of the next crop. Though rents are low, and the produce of the land good, the cultivators are in constant difficulties, partly through this system of mortgaging their future crops, and partly from improvidence. Droughts and floods render matters still worse, so that Champaran, with one of the most fertile soils in Bihar, is probably the poorest district in that province."

594. But the authority entitled to greatest weight is Mr. D. J. Macpherson, C.I.E., who, by being in charge of the district during the famine of 1897, had unrivalled opportunities of gauging the prosperity of the district by the power of resistance it was able to show on the advent of a great and wide-spread natural calamity :—

"*Economic condition of the people.*—In addition to its oil-seeds, indigo and opium, the district is able in ordinary years to export about 4,50,000 maunds of food-grain, valued at about ten lakhs of rupees, notwithstanding a great increase in population within the last quarter of a century. The economic condition of the people, however, in spite of the very moderate rents they have usually to pay, is far below the standard of adjoining districts. The small attention devoted to irrigation, a most powerful stimulus to careful cultivation, has already been noticed. Freed as he usually is by a sufficiency of natural moisture from the necessity of irrigating, the Champaran peasant is the most inert and inefficient cultivator in the province. In the submontane tract in the north of Bettia his inefficiency is mainly due to another cause—the prevalence of malaria, which saps his energy. The sparseness of the population there, moreover, leads him to attempt to cultivate more land than he can attend to properly. The physique of the Champaran peasant generally is notoriously below that of other districts in Bihar, and an unsightly form of goitre is very prevalent. The number of cretins is remarkable. In the low rents which prevail (the average money-rent is under Rs. 2 per acre) another potent stimulus to efficient cultivation is wanting. But whatever the causes, the people are undoubtedly very thriftless, and their extravagance has led them greatly into debt and imperilled the possession of their lands. In the portion of the

district where the Settlement Department has completed its enquiries, 8.79 per cent. of the tenants' holdings have been sold or mortgaged within the last ten years, 40 per cent. of the transferees being money-lenders, while in Muzaffarpur during the same period only 2.91 per cent. were so affected, and only 9 per cent. of the transferees were money-lenders. The percentage of holdings sold out and out was nearly six times as great in Champaran as in Muzaffarpur.

"Chief occupation.—This condition of things is not alleviated by the existence of any arts or industries affording a diversity of occupation and bringing wealth into the district. The only non-agricultural manufacture for export is saltpetre, and it affords support only to about 6,400 persons, who have to supplement their earnings by working as labourers. There are only three towns with a population of over 5,000, and between them they represent only 2.3 per cent. of the population of the district. The actual cultivators of the soil possessing land were returned at the census of 1891 as 1,302,228, or 70 per cent. of the population. General labourers were shown as numbering 251,467, representing a percentage of 13.5. There were only 3,821 weavers, or 0.2 per cent. of the population, and the oil-pressers formed only 0.9 per cent. These figures all include the families of the respective classes. The prosperity of the whole population may therefore be said to be entirely dependent on the condition of the crops, and consequently in the long run on so uncertain an element as the weather."

Mr. D. J. Macpherson's remarks are, in my opinion, a correct summary of actual facts. Mr. Worsley described what the condition of the district ought to be: Mr. Macpherson what it is.

595. A few words may be added as to the methods of the money-lender.

The money-lender.

It is generally in Jeth, i.e., May-June, that the cultivator has to borrow grain from the money-lender, and the contract usually is for repayment in Kuar (September-October), just after the *shadai* crop is harvested, with an interest amounting to 25 per cent. of the capital. Failing that, the interest is added to the capital, and 50 per cent. of the whole is charged as interest in the Bysakh (April-May) following, and so forth. The raiyat can never get free, and must be sold up in the end, to begin life afresh in some other village. Allowing that the raiyats, with their vitality often sapped by malarial fever, will not struggle to resist the consequences of a temporary calamity,—allowing that the quality of land available tempts them to habits of improvidence,—it is still a puzzle, as I have already said, why the money-lender in a district where free transferability of tenant right does not exist has been allowed to get such a hold on the land. The district for the most part is parcelled out amongst big zamindars, each of whom would be ready to assert that he considers the absence of right to transfer holdings without his consent as one of his most valuable privileges, because it enables him to keep out the money-lender. In Muzaffarpur, where transfers are freely made without the landlord's consent, the money-lenders are few; in Champaran, where the landlord's consent is required in practice as well as in theory, the money-lenders flourish. Perhaps the *thikadari* system is, to a certain extent, responsible. Where the *thikadar* grows indigo he is or ought to be as much interested in keeping out the money-lender as any landlord with more permanent rights; but not so the *thikadar* who makes his profits from the rents he can collect.

596. It remains to say a few words regarding the earnings of labourers in Champaran. Accepting as a rough estimate that

The profits of labour.

one-third of the population is wholly or partly dependent on agricultural labour, we find 613,623 persons, or 102,270 families, so circumstanced. I have shown above that the average wage of an adult male labourer is $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day, a female labourer little more than 1 anna per day. For children the rate varies from 2 or 3 *dhabu*s to a little over half an anna up to one anna, given in exceptional cases. The earning of a family therefore, taking these rates and assuming two adult males and two adult females to be its working members, comes to Rs. 118-2 for nine working months in the year, which considerably exceeds their cost of living—Rs. 75 per family. But these are the maximum earnings obtainable by a hard-working family. In reality the two women would not work for this period, and it is unlikely that even the men would get full employment for the whole of nine months. In point of fact the margin is very slender, though I have no doubt that in normal years a labouring family can get enough to live on in fair comfort. If the family also cultivates, its condition is probably still better, though the earnings from hired labour of course undergo diminution.

CHAPTER V.

RECOVERY OF SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT COSTS.

597. The discussions which preceded apportionment and recovery of survey and settlement costs have been reviewed in the Muzaffarpur final report. I shall therefore being *Summary of progress.* for Champaran with the actual initiation of this branch of the operations.

682. In January 1896 orders were received to commence computation and recovery of costs without delay. Mr. Colvin drew out computation forms which, owing to the absence of any complication in proprietary interests, were very much simpler than those required for Muzaffarpur. In fact, whereas in Muzaffarpur it was necessary to work through four forms in order to arrive at the demand apportionable on each proprietary interest, in Champaran it was found possible to obtain those results in a single form. Actual recovery was started at the end of February 1896 in the Bettia thana. Babu Hemanta Kumar Maitro was placed in charge of the camp, and out of a total demand of Rs. 1,00,195, Rs. 37,495 had been collected, when, owing to the want of finally published records, the work for the season was closed. During the first season costs were recovered only from raiyats and small tenure-holders. The Bettia Raj and the more important tenure-holders had advanced sums in 1892-93 for the payment of amins and coolies, for which they were entitled to a set-off. The Survey Department had kept no proper account of this money and were unable to furnish papers. The work was therefore handed over to the Settlement Department for adjustment, and Mr. Kerr during recess managed to evolve order out of chaos. At this time also some alterations were introduced into the procedure followed in Champaran. For instance Mr. Colvin had thought that the copy of the record made over to the payer would suffice as his receipt, but, in the absence of counterfoils, it was found impossible to check the accounts. Moreover, since in the case of landlords who were co-sharers, there were separate demands but only one copy of the record, the copy of the record could serve as a receipt to one of them only, namely, the man fortunate enough to get it. The Champaran procedure, in short, was largely remodelled on that introduced into Muzaffarpur. When arrangements had been completed for the recovery of costs from a large area in the ensuing cold weather, 1896-97, the famine came and everything had to be abandoned. It was only from the proprietors and big tenure-holders of thanas Motihari and Gobindganj, and from similar classes whose arrears had been brought under certificate during the previous recess, that costs could be recovered. Payments were received at head-quarters.

598. In the cold weather of 1897-98 two recovery camps were sent out, so that the ground lost in the preceding year might, if possible, be made up. That in charge of Babu Hemanta Kumar Maitro worked in thanas Madhuban, Dhaka, Adapur, and portions of Shikarpur and Bettia, while the other, in charge of Babu Jadab Chandra Mozumdar, took up thanas Motihari, Kesaria and Gobindganj, and also a small portion in the south of Bettia thana. The programmes were carried through without friction. The raiyats paid their demands willingly and often eagerly. The sum collected amounted to Rs. 2,60,782-9-11, leaving a balance of Rs. 2,44,276-8-9, which, however, was mainly due from the Bettia Raj and indigo factories. During recess the Certificate Department was reorganised at head-quarters and the accounts for the period hitherto dealt with thoroughly overhauled.

599. On the 1st November 1898 Babu Hemanta Kumar Maitro again took the field with his recovery camp. The area to be dealt with was in the extreme north of the district, where agricultural development is very backward and indeed sometimes almost nomadic. The wild Tharus, inhabitants of tappas Ramgir and Chengwan, at first refused to pay; but when Mr. Lewis, the Manager of the Bettia Raj, came to the Assistant Settlement Officer's assistance and directed his staff stationed at Bagaha to co-operate, the whole demand was completely realised. This was an eminently satisfactory result, as it was anticipated that we should never succeed in collecting the demand of Tharuhat. There were other minor difficulties. Several holdings in Ramnagar had been abandoned and the demands had to be realized from the proprietors. In thana Bettia some holdings had been washed away by diluvion, but Mr. Lewis, the

landlord, paid the demand. The total sum realized in camp this season was Rs. 1,57,563 the balance remaining amounted to Rs. 2,35,401.

600. At the commencement the recovery officer's establishment comprised—

				Ra.
1	Accountant	...	...	50
1	Head tahsildar	...	...	20
9	Tahsildars	...	...	15 each.
6	Peons	...	...	5 "
4	Guards	...	...	6 "

The number of collection muharrirs or tahsildars was increased later on and a separate maliki tahsildar was put in. The salaries of the tahsildars and head tahsildars were raised to Rs. 20 and Rs. 25 respectively, and that of the accountant reduced to Rs. 40.

601. The procedure was similar to that I have described for Muzaffarpur, but the existence of big properties led to two important modifications, one related to

computation to which I have already referred. In the absence of a large number of sharers and estates or *pattis* with a joint interest in *shamlat* parcels, the computation of the demand for landlords was much simplified. The other related to actual recovery. The recovery officer was relieved from all responsibility of collecting the dues from important landlords in camp. An amalgamated account was prepared for each at head-quarters and the demand was paid in there direct. Thus the harassment caused by realizing large sums of money in small dribblets was avoided. The whole of this branch of the operations was carried through with great success, and the raiyats were not subjected to any form of coercion. The characteristic feature of the Champaran operations was the payment of dues in *lohia* or dumpy pice. In the northern part of the district such a thing as a Government copper coin was hardly ever met with. It being impossible for this Department to saddle itself with large quantities of uncurrent coin, a banyia was attached to each camp, who in return for a small commission gave Government pice in exchange for dumpy ones. The market value of dumpy pice varies, but it can be said that on an average 112 of these coins go to a rupee.

602. The entire cost of the operations was assessed at 8 annas per acre, and under the orders of the Secretary of State this sum was apportioned thus:—

Financial results.

Government	...	...	...	2 annas.
Landlord	...	...	...	3½ "
Raiyat	...	...	...	2½ "

The actual amount to be collected therefore was annas 6 per acre. The total area brought under recovery being 2,075,166 acres, the total amount realizable was in the calculation Rs. 7,78,187-4, viz. Rs. 4,53,942-9 from landlords and Rs. 3,24,244-11 from occupiers. But by actual computation the total amount came to Rs. 5,59,017-12-6 from landlords, Rs. 2,22,229-9-3 from occupiers, Rs. 4,134-7-11 on account of Kaiser-i-Hind land, or a total of Rs. 7,85,381-13-8, which is Rs. 7,194-9-8 in excess of the amount, arrived at according to the general calculation already made. The main reason for the excess is that holdings were subjected to a minimum charge of annas 2-6. Subject to this provision too the rules enjoined that half an acre or less was to be disregarded, and any fraction over half an acre was to be treated as a whole acre.

603. I now subjoin a statement showing the total demand, the sums actually realized, and the arrears left at the close of the operations:—

Serial No.	Class of sources.	Demand.		Collections.		Arrears.		REMARKS.	
		Items of demand.	Demand.	Items.	Demand.	Items.	Demand.	Excess collection on account of <i>lohia</i> pice	
			Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		
1	Landlord	56,957	5,59,977 15 6	51,466	2,34,750 15 6	5,907	2,34,665 15 2	192 15 2	* Including Rs. 4,995-5-7 set off.
	Occupiers	277,511	5,55,550 9 3	275,629	1,21,349 10 8	1,402	924 6 10	54 9 8	
	Total	684,468	7,81,397 5 9	687,095	5,56,100 10 2	7,309	2,35,601 2 0	246 7 5	

It will appear from the above statement that the operations were brought to a close with a collection of 58·09 per cent. of the demand from landlords and 99·67 per cent. from occupiers, i.e., 69·19 per cent. of the total demand. Out of the total arrears (Rs. 2,35,401-3) the Bettia Raj owes Rs. 1,82,840-14-8, a sum of Rs. 7,393-8 is due from some factories, and Rs. 9,911-6-6 from the Ramnagar Raj. The arrears from occupiers amount to Rs. 934-6 only. The demands of 5 annas and under, due from actual raiyats, all of which amount to a total of Rs. 179-8-1, have been recommended for remission. The arrears remaining are mainly due in respect of abandoned holdings. The collections therefore from occupiers is practically cent. per cent.—an extraordinarily good result. The vast bulk of the landlords' arrears is due from the Bettia Raj. Owing to the heavy drain caused by recent litigation, it has been unable to pay up even the instalments promised, and two or three years no doubt will elapse before the demand is entirely satisfied.

604. It should be noted that these figures do not include 6 villages in Gopalganj, 3 in Bettia, and 5 in Gobindganj thanas, surveyed in Champaran but transferred to Saran. They cover an area of 19,778 acres, and the demand, Rs. 7,508-11-6, was mainly realized in Champaran. The cost of 5 villages belonging to Hardia Factory, viz., Hardia, Razaul, Ganmbhoria, Bellahi and Harnahi, the survey and settlement of which were taken up prior to the general operations, was defrayed entirely by the proprietors.

605. The table given below will show the extent to which the certificate procedure was utilised for the recovery of costs:—

Serial No.	Class.	DEMAND BROUGHT UNDER CERTIFICATE.															
		Total number filed.		Number disposed of by the Settlement Department.		Insignificant demands to be remitted.		Balance handed over to the Collector for disposal.									
		From	Cases.	Demand	Cases.	Demand.	Cases.	Demand.	Cases.	Demand.							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10						
				Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.			
1	Landlord ...	8,790	2,88,461	10	7	2,468	50,804	14	8			1,325	2,34,466	12	6		
2	Tenant ...	3,679	1,921	0	0	2,191	996	13	11	968	179	6	1	408	754	14	9
	Total ...	7,469	28,37,388	11	4	4,659	51,801	12	4	983	179	6	1	1,893	2,35,221	11	2

The table shows that 51 per cent. of the demand from landlords and 98 per cent. of the demand from raiyats was brought under certificate. The figures for landlords are misleading. I have referred to the fact that the sum outstanding from the Bettia Raj is Rs. 1,82,840-14-8, from factories Rs. 7,393, and from the Ramnagar Raj Rs. 9,911-6-6, giving a total of Rs. 2,00,145-5-2. It was necessary to enter certificates for the Bettia Raj balances to save limitation in case the civil suit then pending led to the estate passing out of the hands of the Court of Wards. The balance from Ramnagar and the factories could also be realized without coercive measures, but as they had not been paid when our office was closed, it was necessary to place them under certificate. If we omit these items the amount of landlord's demand brought under certificate was 15 per cent. of the total demand. The percentage of the total demand actually recovered by the Settlement Office Certificate Department was 6·65 per cent., from landlords 9 per cent., and from raiyats only 44 per cent. Rs. 179 of the outstanding raiyati demand, being composed of amounts so insignificant as to be not worth recovering, has been recommended for remission. Thus only Rs. 754-14-9, or 3 per cent., of the demand in 505 items will remain to be realized from raiyats by the Collectorate Certificate Department. The amount to be recovered from landlords is Rs. 2,34,466-12-6 in 1,325 items. Thus only 1,830 certificates in all have been made over to the Collector for enforcement.

606. The procedure for the disposal of the records of the Recovery Department was exactly the same as that followed in Muzaffarpur, and which I have described in the final report of that district. It mainly follows the directions given in section 39 of the Bihar Recovery Rules, 1897-98.

Disposal of recovery records in the Collectorate.

607. The cost of collection in Champaran comes to Rs. 11,501-3-9, or 2-1 per cent. for computation, and Rs. 18,311-7-7, or 3-3 per cent. for actual recovery, i.e., Rs. 29,812-11-4 in all, or 5-4 per cent. of the total sum realised.

The following statement apporitions it year by year:—

Year.	TOTAL COST OF RECOVERY.				Amount recovered.	Percentage of total cost to amount recovered.
	Computation.	Recovery Camp.	Head-quarters.	Total.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1895-96	3,948 8 11	3,523 5 3	143 9 1	7,615 7 3	37,495 9 4	20-3
1896-97	1,902 6 11	.....	792 5 4	2,694 12 5	31,071 10 10	3-3
1897-98	3,976 7 0	6,403 4 10	2,685 5 0	12,964 0 10	3,69,716 9 3	4-9
1898-99	1,673 13 11	2,787 9 9	2,187 0 4	6,598 7 0	1,66,347 13 9	3-9
Total	11,501 3 9	12,603 3 10	5,648 3 9	29,812 11 4	3,40,130 10 2	5-4

It will be noticed that the percentage of cost was unusually high in the first year of the recovery work, viz. 20-3, but I explained it in the following paragraph, which I quote from the annual report of 1896-97:—"The percentage of cost to collection was exceptionally high in 1895-96, because in that year no recovery could be made from the landlords, the account of the advance that was made to the Survey Department not having been adjusted." In the three subsequent years, when the work was in full swing, specially in 1897-98 and 1898-99, the percentage ranged between 3 and 5 only. Even as it is, the total cost is more than covered by the surplus demand of Rs. 7,194-9-8, the difference between general calculation and the demand as obtained by detailed computation. The surplus collection too that resulted from the conversion of *lohia* into Government pice led to an excess collection of Rs. 284-7-5, which can also be set against the cost of collection. Thus survey and settlement costs were recovered in reality without any excess expenditure.

608. I have alluded to the difficulties that arose in scrutinising the advances made to amins and inspectors during the first year of the operations. These advances were given mainly by the Bettia Raj and European planters. There were, however, some made by native thikadars also. No proper accounts had been kept, and at first these survey subordinates were allowed uncontrolled to obtain money on giving a mere receipt without any sort of authorisation from the head of their Department. It was obviously impossible to find out whether the money had been correctly spent. The demand for set-off had to be admitted if it was shown that the subordinates of the Survey Department had actually received it. The sums allowed as set-off on this account were as follows:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
To the Bettia Raj	15,361	13	0
To factories	7,320	6	6
To native thikadars	1,271	12	1
Total	23,951	0	7

Notices were duly issued inviting claims to set-off on demands still unrecovered, but without effect. The accounts have now been closed. The above figures therefore can be accepted as final. The total amount allowed as set-off was 0-8 per cent of the total demand for the district.

609. It will be seen from the figures given in Appendix IX that the total cost of the survey was Rs. 4,68,345. The total area in which the traverse was completed was 2,110,720 acres, but further operations were not carried on in more than 2,110,720 acres.

The total cost of the survey per acre on this last area was therefore annas 3-6. It is to be regretted that separate figures for traverse, cadastral and record-writing are not available for the years 1892-93 and 1893-94. The total cost of settlement was Rs. 4,74,954-6-9. Thus the total cost of survey and settlement was Rs. 9,43,299-6-9, giving an average of annas 7-2 per acre.

610. The total amount received in Court-fee stamps was Rs. 83,757-9, and on miscellaneous heads, such as remeasurement fees, copying fees, sale of tents, office furniture, &c., Rs. 12,496-11-3. The sum recovered as survey and settlement cost was Rs. 5,46,130-10-2, and an amount of Rs. 2,35,221-10-11 remains to be realized by the Collector under the Public Demands Recovery Act and Rs. 4,134-7-11 was charged for Kaiser-i-Hind lands at 6 annas per acre. The total receipts under survey and settlement costs may therefore be put down at Rs. 7,85,486-13. To this should be added Rs. 3,169-10, which was received as process-fees in the course of the recovery operations and remitted into the treasury in cash. The sum of Rs. 179-8-1 was remitted as irrecoverable, and has therefore been left out of all calculation. The total receipts under all heads amounted therefore to Rs. 8,84,910-11-3. To this being added Rs. 2,62,000, being the Government share of 2 annas per acre, the receipts would amount to Rs. 11,46,910-11-3. This leaves a surplus of Rs. 2,03,611-4-6.

611. The deficit in Muzaffarpur was Rs. 26,051. Muzaffarpur being the Settlement Officer's head-quarters, and there being much incidental expenditure that it is impossible to apportion, some of this deficit is fairly debitable to Champaran. On the two districts taken together the expenditure has been well covered by the receipts.

CHAPTER VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Dress and dwellings of the people.

612. The different grades of agriculturists may be distinguished by their dress. The servant class and the labourers wear nothing more than a *langota*, a narrow strip of cloth fastened to a cord (*dhara*) tied round the waist, but the cultivator wears a *dhoti*, costing about 10 annas. The man who habitually adds a *pagri* to his wearing apparel belongs to a higher grade. The average tenant wears a head-dress on special occasions only. As we get higher up the scale we find a *mirpi* or native coat (value about 10 annas) added to the *dhoti* and *pagri*. The cost of the agriculturist's ordinary wearing apparel does not exceed Re. 1-14.

613. A woman of the average tenant class wears a *sari* (value 13 annas), the upper end being thrown round the neck and shoulders, and then fastened to the waist piece. In the lowest classes the *sari* is reduced to a *putli*. In the more flourishing tracts in the south of the Sadar subdivision a *ghala* (bodice) is worn, the cost being about 6 annas. The *dhoti* is known as *mardani*, the *sari* as *senani*.

614. The prevalence of mat and straw dwellings is a fair indication of the low material condition of the people. These huts are thatched with *ikkar* or *jhalasi* grown on the ~~ails~~ ^{banks} between the fields. In the Tribeni tracts and the northern skirts of Bagaha hardly a mud hut is to be seen. Towards the south they become more numerous. Zamindars and mahajans alone can afford tiled or pukka houses.

615. Before sowing a pandit is consulted for an auspicious hour. On being served with *puota* [a dole of rice, some *haldi* (turmeric), and one to four annas in pice], the pandit unfolds his *patra* and proceeds to study the stars. After fixing the time he selects a male member of the family whose horoscope is favourable and at the appointed hour the man chosen proceeds to the field with a *kedali* on his shoulder and a *lota* of water in the right hand. Digging for 5 steps (*deg*) each way in the middle of the field, he scatters seed, and pours out the hallowed water

from his *lata* there. This preliminary ceremony is technically called "*muth lagana*." Then follows the general sowing of all the fields. To scare away crows or jackals a scare-crow made of straw is set up in the midst of the field. The crops when ready are cut on a day again named by the pandit, for which he gets another *purota*. They are harvested and brought to the threshing floor, where a mango or *dhip* post (called *meh*) is set up in the centre after a few nuts (*kasali*) and some pice have been placed in the hole made for the purpose. To this post the bullocks that tread out the grain are fastened. During the subsequent process of husking, any grain that falls outside the basket is jealously guarded and reserved for the consumption solely of members of the family. This is called *aguar*. After the *aguar* has been gathered up the grain has to be weighed by the weighman (*hatee*) who gets one *paseri* of about 5 seers for every two bighas. A poor cultivator performs this duty himself. Before the actual weighment begins, a religious ceremony takes place. A fire is ignited on the spot some *ghi*, linseed, *dhip*-wood and rice are mixed, and poured over it. A *mantra* is meanwhile recited by the priest who again comes in for a gratuity, generally of a *paseri* of rice and 4 annas with some *haldi*. The heap is then smoothed with the '*sup*' (the process being called *chakdona*), and a ball of cowdung is placed in the centre of the heap as an emblem of good luck. Three *sup*s of grain are next taken out, one set apart for Brahmans (this is called *agaon*), another distributed to beggars, and the third reserved for the *gorail*. A *sup* usually contains a *paseri* of grain. Finally, the grain is brought home and stored without any further ceremony.

DOMESTIC CEREMONIES.

616. When a match is proposed the *kundali* (an abstract of the *janam patra* or horoscope) of the boy is brought by a pandit and a barber to the girl's father. The

Marriage ceremonies.

pandit is paid handsomely according to the means of the parties, receiving also various articles of clothing. The boy's *kundali* is compared with that of the girl, and if there is no astrological obstacle, the match is accepted. A rupee and *dhoti* is then sent to the boy as a token of confirmation. If a Brahman or Khattri by caste, a sacred thread is also added. This present is locally called by that familiar word *parcha*. Then follows the settlement between the two parties of the *tlak* or dowry. The amount of *tlak* knows no bounds. From one rupee and a *dhoti* it may rise to thousands, according to the means of the bride's guardian. But for an ordinary *miyat* it would seldom exceed Rs. 25. The *tlak* is sent to the bridegroom on some auspicious day through the pandit and the barber, who each get as a reward some money and a full dress (*panch tik kapra*), the value of which depends upon the means of the bridegroom's guardian. It may be anything from a plain *dhoti* and *pagri* to a silk dress and shawl.

The next ceremony is that of introduction called *lagan*. The bridegroom is dressed in a pale yellow *dhoti* (dyed with turmeric), and goes to the bride at her own house. They are set together. A handful of rice with some silver ornament is put into their hands and married women touch them from the feet upward throwing some rice over their heads. After the *lagan* no widows are allowed to approach nor may either of the contracting parties leave the village. Then follows the *matkar* ceremony. Earth is brought from a field and put in the court-yard; over it is placed a pitcher of water called *khalsa*. The pitcher is covered with mango leaves, one pice and some sweetmeats are put inside, and rice or barley is deposited on the lid. Above this is set the marriage lamp containing four wicks and hence called the *chamukh*. The *matkar* is succeeded by the *mando* ceremony. A *mandea* or *shamiana* is erected and hung with mango leaves, and a *haris*—the beam of the plough—is set up hard by. Beneath the *shamiana* is placed an earthen elephant. Three to seven holes are dug near the plough beam and an image of Ganesh is made there of cowdung and worshipped. The bride or the bridegroom sits near it and is painted with *haldi* by the near relatives, each of whom puts some silver into the vessel containing the *haldi*, as a gratuity for the male or female barber employed. This ceremony is called *haldi charhana*, and continues till the marriage day. But the preliminary ceremonies do not end even here. On an auspicious day

fixed by the Brahman *Manki puja* is observed. This is the worship of all the family gods conducted by the pandit in conjunction with the bride's guardian. The lowest cost to the bride's guardian of this ceremony is Re. 1-4, and may rise to Rs. 1,125. The raiyat expends about Rs. 50.

617. At length the day for the *barat* or marriage procession arrives. The bridegroom is carried with much display to the bride's house and on arrival is much honoured by the bride's guardian. A garland is thrown round his neck and a *tika* (mark) of *dahi* (curd) and *achhat* (rice) put on his forehead, while some *achhar* or *mantra* is recited over him. At the same time he is given a present, the value of which varies from Re. 1-4 to Rs. 125, according to the means of the bride's guardian. This ceremony is called *Duar puja*. On its completion the *Barat* retires for a rest (*janbasa*) and refreshments. *Sherbet* is served to the *Baratis* at a cost of from Re. 1 to Rs. 10 according to the number of guests. This is called *Dhurchak*. Then there is a *shastrarth* (a competition in reciting *Shastras*) between Brahman guests and *Bahas* between the Kayasth guests of either party. When finished the bride's guests retire from the presence of the *Baratis*. The next function is the presentation of presents to the bride (*kaniun mrechan*) consisting usually of gold and silver ornaments dresses and sweet-meats. The bridegroom's elder brother accompanied by other relations takes the presents to the shamiana and places them in the outstretched hands of the bride who is brought there for the purpose by the barber's wife. This done the men retire. The bridegroom is then brought into the shamiana wearing a *dhōṭi*. The bride's brother if any must also be there dressed in a *sarajora*, i.e., a dress given to him by the bridegroom. The bridegroom is seated by the side of the wife's guardian. The pandit now recites the *mantra* consecrating the marriage, and the guardian bestows the hand of the bride on the bridegroom. This final ceremony is called *kaniadan*.

The bridegroom's party is then given a big feast which often costs more than the means of the bride's guardian allow. A few years later when the bride is of mature age, she for the first time goes to the house of her husband. The technical term for this is *gona*, but no particular ceremony is observed. Force of custom, however, compels her guardian to give her a dowry of ornaments, furniture, cattle and dress the cost of which he often can very ill afford.

FUNERAL RITES AND CEREMONIES.

618. When a Hindu is at the point of death his family if rich give a calf (called *baitarni*) and if poor some pice to the Brahman, and certain passages are read out from the *Vedas*. The dead body is covered with new cloth (about 9 yards costing about Re. 1-4), and borne to the burning ground on a bed or a bamboo *ranthi*. The heir puts the fire into the mouth. When the corpse is reduced to ashes the mourners retire to the deceased's house, and are fed with plain rice, *urid* pulse, and cow's milk. A pitcher filled with water and having a small hole in the bottom, is hung from a pipal tree, the idea being that the departed soul of the deceased can drink if so disposed. For ten days thereafter food (*pinda*) is placed near a river bank as an offering to the deceased. All the relatives assemble on the tenth day called *daswan*, and are shaven. *Pinda* is again offered on the eleventh and Mahapátra Brahmans are fed in accordance with the means of the family. The number fed is never less than five. A calf is then branded and let loose. The Brahman gets a gift of all the personal effects of the deceased, new clothing, bedding, and some brass utensils. The Mahapatras avail themselves of this opportunity to squeeze out of the family as much as they can by refusing to eat unless they are amply paid. On the twelfth day the Purohit Brahmans (priestly caste) are fed, and they get as charity 1 pice to 2 annas each. Finally on the following day the relatives of the deceased are entertained to dinner.

619. The dead body of a Muhammadan is bathed with water in which a little camphor has been dissolved and is then clothed in the *kaffan* (which costs about Rs. 3 to Rs. 4); after this it is borne to the burial ground, where the funeral prayer (*nimas*) is said and the body interred. Some silver or copper is distributed to beggars. The

services of a *Hafiz* are secured to recite the *koran* every day on the spot where the deceased breathed his last. This continues for 40 days. On the third or fourth day after the death, called *seum* or *chaharum*, the relatives and friends of the family assemble and read the *koran*. This ceremony, which is called "hall," is again observed on the twentieth and fortieth days. On each occasion food and pice are distributed to the beggars. Well-to-do men give a dinner on each of these three days, but those of humbler condition are content with one on the last, i.e., the fortieth day, when the closing ceremony called *chehlum* takes place. The *Hafiz* gets all the personal effects of the deceased, some copper utensils, and some money. Beggars also get clothing on this day if the family can afford it.

620. As in Western lands, so in the East the first day of the year is a festival. Among the Hindus, on the previous night, bonfires are to be seen in every village. Ceremonies on the first day of the Hindu year.

The people look upon this as the funeral ceremony of the old year, but the true explanation is that the bonfires commemorate the burning of a *Rakshasi* (a female demon) named Holika. The story goes that this wicked demon Holika wanted to burn her brother Prahlad, because he had gained the favour of Vishnu through his good actions. Brother and sister went into the fire, and Vishnu saved his favourite, while Holika was burned. Many of the popular songs consist in objurgatory declamation of Holika's evil behaviour.

PRICE OF CATTLE.

621. The price of cows ranges from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50. Above Rs. 10 the price rises at the rate of Rs. 5 per seer of milk the cow yields.

Buffaloes cost Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 per head, and their price is regulated at Rs. 10 per seer of milk given.

Plough bullocks can be had for Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 a pair, and the value of cart bullocks ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 per pair.

Cows are very seldom slaughtered in this district, so the price of a cow yielding no milk or a bullock unfit for plough or cart is very low. They are often sold at Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per head.

Cow milk is sold at 1 anna per standard seer; buffalo milk is cheaper.

Cow milk is not much used in its natural state. It is made into curds (*dahi*), which with *churas* (flattened rice), forms the chief food of the middle class cultivators. Curds sell ordinarily from 2 pice to 8 pice (*lohia*) per seer, there being about 7 *lohia* pice in one anna.

The dung of cattle is utilized for making *chipris* or *goðras*, which are used as fuel. It is sold at five to six *pattis* for the rupee (a *patti* is a heap of 7×7 *goðras*). Dung is also used for manuring *goer* lands, and fetches about 3 maunds per rupee in its natural state.

III.—VILLAGE CUSTOMS

622. (1) Under-raiyats acquire no occupancy rights.

(2) Raiyats paying produce-rents (although settled raiyats having occupancy rights under the law) are not treated as such according to village custom. They are ejected at any time. It has proved very difficult to persuade cultivators that their status does not depend on the form in which they pay their rents.

(3) All tenants have to pay *salami* in case of new settlement or re-settlement, the rate of which varies according to the quality of the land settled.

(4) In villages not the property of the Raj, it is the custom for the tenants to contribute something either in grain or cash as *nazarana* on the occasion of a marriage in the proprietor's family.

(5) It is the custom for tenants to give *salami* to the landlord on the *Punia* or *Dasahra* day. They are served in return with *pán* and *ladus* and are fed with *dahi* and *chura*.

(6) In the case of any well being dug, or a tank excavated, it is the custom to consecrate it by a sham marriage between two wooden human figures. In case of a new embankment all the tenants have to contribute towards the expenses of this so-called marriage. The Brahmins are invariably fed on such occasions.

(7) It is the custom for the patwari in *Kartik* to send presents of sweets to his landlord and to well-to-do cultivators who in return contribute to his *dawat puja*.

(8) It is a village custom for the *kumhars* (potters) to supply earthen pots without cost during marriage. They get some grain in return. Similarly the shoemaker supplies a pair of shoes every year and in case of marriage or death in the zamindar's family.

(9) It is the custom for *dhobis* (washermen) to get the crop of 3 to 4 *dhurs* of land per male in each family, for which they wash clothes. The *barber* (*hajam*) gets the same for each man requiring the razor. The *Lohar* (blacksmith) gets 10 to 12 *dhurs* for each plough possessed by a tenant. This is called the "*Pal*" custom.

(10) The oil-seller (*teli*) has to contribute a quantity of oil every day for use in the *malik's* cutcherry. This is called the *cheragi*.

(11) The ploughman often gets no wages in cash from either the landlord or the tenant, but in return uses for his own purposes the plough, and bullocks every third day; the landlord is generally entitled under village custom to use in rotation the plough of each tenant for one day in each of the three seasons—*Bhadai*, *Aghani* and *Rabi*. This is called "*Hari*."

(12) The *pasi* gets as payment the toddy from the palm or date trees on alternate days; he gets no wages in cash from the tenant.

623. The appendices attached to this report are as follows:—

- I.—District map showing the boundaries of thanas and parganas.
- II.—List of officers employed on settlement duty in the district of Champaran.
- III.—Abstract of the Khasra (Milan Khasra).
- IV.—Crop statement (Jinswar).
- V.—List of tenants' Agricultural stock.
- VI.—Terij abstract.
- VII.—Transfer of proprietary rights.
- VIII.—Transfer of occupancy rights.
- IX.—Agricultural calendar for the district of Champaran.
- X.—Financial statements.

CONCLUSION.

624. This report can fittingly close with a word of praise to those who have contributed their steadfast energies to the construction of an accurate record of rights for the Champaran district. All the Assistant Settlement Officers with, I am glad to say, very few exceptions did good work, but those who were connected with the operations for the longest period deserve a special reference. It will be seen from the list of officers furnished in Appendix II, that Pandit Ram Ballab Missra and Maulvi Syed Ahmed Ali Khan were employed on these operations continuously for nearly five years each, Mr. Kerr for nearly four years and Babu Hemanta Kumar Maitro for over three years. The last named deserves special mention for the success with which he recovered the costs of the operations from the landlords and raiyats. A large bulk of the fair-rent case work for the district generally, and nearly all the case work of all sorts in the Madhuban Babu's estates in particular fell on Maulvi Syed Ahmed Ali Khan and the results have shown that it was very well done. He assisted me to a small extent with the final report also. Of Mr. Kerr's assistants—to Pandit Ram Ballab Missra however, are my chief acknowledgements—duo. He was entrusted with the charge of the head-quarter's Settlement Office, a most onerous and responsible duty entailing powers of organisation, constant supervision and unending strain. He never spared himself and his efforts bore good fruit. As the settlement operations drew to a close, he was employed in compiling the information required for the final report. To this end he laboured unceasingly and with discrimination, and I am much indebted for his help. Mr. Kerr was in subordinate charge of the Champaran operations for nearly the whole of the period during which he was connected with them. In the solution of all difficulties his knowledge of the district and its landowners, his common sense and unfailing tact proved of the utmost value.

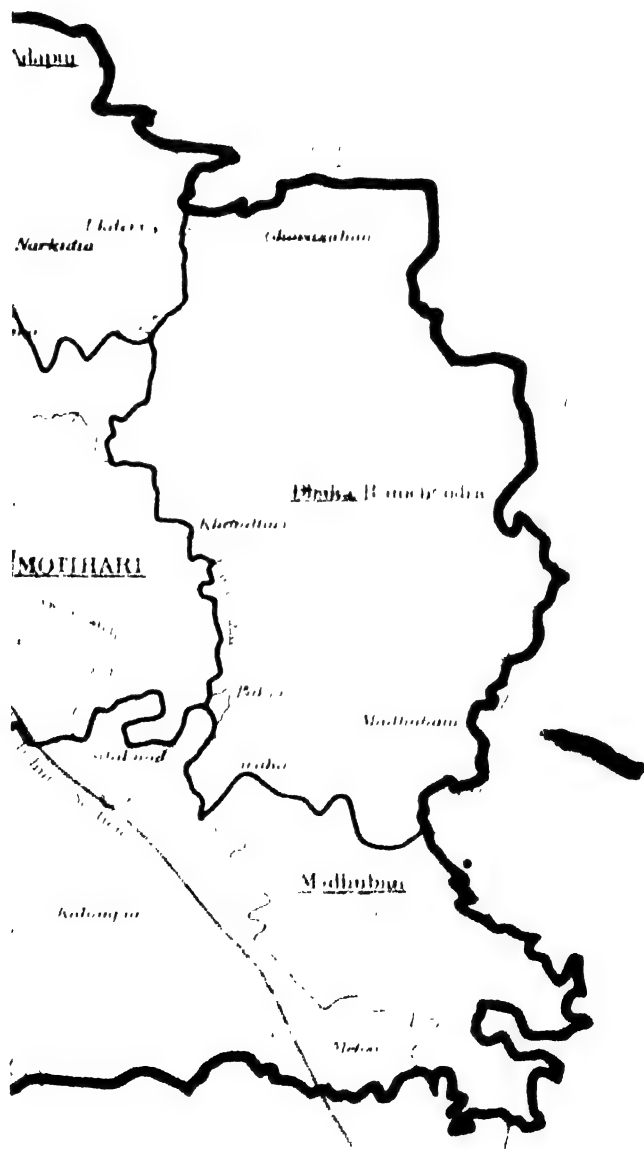
Outside the department Mr. E. R. Macnaghten, Secretary of the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association, and Mr. J. Lewis, Manager of the Bettia estate, deserve our special acknowledgements for their advice and co-operation.

DISTRICT 1

CEAMPARAN

Scale 1 inch to 5 Miles

40951

$$\begin{aligned} \lambda_{1,2} &= \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{\alpha} \pm \sqrt{\frac{1}{\alpha^2} - 4} \right) \\ \lambda_1 &= \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{\alpha} + \sqrt{\frac{1}{\alpha^2} - 4} \right) \\ \lambda_2 &= \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{\alpha} - \sqrt{\frac{1}{\alpha^2} - 4} \right) \end{aligned}$$


APPENDIX II.

List of Officers employed on settlement duty in the district of Champarni.

NAME OF OFFICER.	Designation.	Nature of employment.	PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			REMARKS.
			Years.	Months.	Days.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
R. G. Colvin, Esq., I.C.S. ...	Magistrate and Collector ...	Settlement Officer ...	2	4	26	
P. C. Lyon, Esq., I.C.S. ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	2	4	15	
C. J. Stevenson-Moore, Esq., I.C.S. ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	3	5	3	
C. A. Bell, Esq., I.C.S. ...	Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector.	Assistant Settlement Officer in charge.	...	5	6	
J. H. Kerr, Esq., I.C.S. ...	Officiating Magistrate and Collector.	Ditto ditto ...	3	9	10	
Babu Rajkishore Narain Sinha ...	Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector.	Khanapuri and attestation ...	...	4	15	
Maulvi Ghulam Ghaus ...	Officiating Deputy Collector ...	Khanapuri, attestation and case work.	1	3	7	
Babu Makhan Lal Chatterji ...	Ditto ditto ...	Attestation ...	...	7	9	
.. Nalin Chandra Kati ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	1	7	29	
.. Lalit Chandra Das Gupta ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	...	7	15	
.. Premotho Nath Datt ...	Deputy Collector ...	Khanapuri, supervision and case work.	1	...	...
.. Hem Chandra Chatterji ...	Officiating Deputy Collector ...	Khanapuri ...	1	6	...	
Maulvi Syed Ahmed Ali Khan ...	Ditto ditto ...	Khanapuri, attestation, case work, recovery and office work.	4	9	17	
Pandit Ramaballabh Misra ...	Ditto ditto ...	Attestation, case work and office at head quarters.	4	9	...	
Maulvi Abdul Hakam ...	Sub-Deputy Collector ...	Attestation ...	...	4	7	
.. Habibur Rahman ...	Officiating Deputy Collector ...	Khanapuri ...	...	3	2	
.. Abdul Sala ...	Ditto ditto ...	Attestation, Khanapuri and case work.	2	...	24	
• Babu Nazendra Kumar Ghosh ...	Sub-Deputy Collector ...	Ditto ditto ...	1	1	7	
.. Hemangsu Nath Chakravarti ...	Ditto ...	Khanapuri ...	...	5	2	
Maulvi Yuseul Ali ...	Officiating Deputy Collector ...	Attestation ...	...	6	7	
.. Shah Muhammad Azam ...	Sub-Deputy Collector ...	Ditto ...	...	4	7	
.. Syed Ali Hossain ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	...	7	19	
Babu Hemanta Kumar Maitra ...	Ditto ...	Attestation, case work, recovery and office work at head-quarters.	3	3	...	
.. Harbans Sahai ...	Officiating Deputy Collector ...	Attestation and case work ...	1	4	17	
.. Jadal Chandra Mozamdar ...	Kanungo ...	Recovery ...	...	3	1	
.. Sarat Chandra Mukerji ...	Sub-Deputy Collector ...	Attestation ...	...	4	24	
Maulvi Afzalur Rahman ...	Ditto ...	Khanapuri ...	...	5	1	
.. Syed Izahar Hussain ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	...	5	23	
Babu Suresh Chandra Chakravarti ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	...	5	25	
Maulvi Syed Ali Ashraf ...	Ditto ...	Khanapuri, attestation and computation.	...	5	2	
A. J. Ollenbach, Esq. ...	Ditto ...	Attestation ...	3	13	...	

APPENDIX III.

Khasra Abstract (Milan Khasra).

(All areas in acres.)

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	CROPPED AREA.							CULTURABLE AREA OTHER THAN CURRENT FALLOW.					AREA NOT AVAILABLE FOR CULTIVATION.			
		Bhadra.	Aghar.	Rabi.	Total.	Tea or coffee.	Net cropped area.	Current fallow.	Old fallow.	Mango groves.	Culturable jungle.	Other kinds.	Total.	House sites.	Water.	Other kinds.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	Bagaha	86,016	70,102	106,320	262,438	60,908	198,829	11,069	78,811	4,327	2,000	44,494	131,350	2,710	25,008	27,353	55,081
2	Shikarpur	84,451	135,093	111,028	330,572	91,171	244,781	6,908	51,611	6,121	11,849	1,018	74,237	2,107	15,802	10,043	28,518
3	Bettia	190,021	50,012	123,748	363,781	97,302	266,479	12,081	36,710	9,595	9,134	4,884	60,625	4,260	10,073	12,762	27,094
	Bettia Subdivisional figures	201,092	202,857	302,755	706,704	233,081	666,743	31,655	171,136	20,386	23,682	50,884	206,248	9,577	67,848	59,108	117,863
4	Adapur	65,987	18,123	78,021	162,131	70,241	122,193	1,092	5,955	3,155	50	580	10,208	1,540	4,113	4,176	9,878
5	Dhaka	86,209	63,672	111,121	261,002	55,918	177,846	2,748	10,092	7,315	711	1,501	19,357	2,353	6,825	5,871	14,547
6	Motbari	62,716	33,517	82,966	179,199	47,003	131,197	6,212	3,686	5,074	1,219	963	30,888	1,872	8,713	6,134	16,749
7	Gobindganj	67,136	13,111	61,080	141,327	46,121	127,611	3,605	2,181	6,161	577	2,611	30,146	1,801	9,023	9,973	20,886
8	Kosaria	66,410	53,453	69,811	177,674	30,218	138,688	3,011	10,750	5,124	369	1,848	18,958	1,808	4,711	8,257	14,766
9	Madhuban	25,437	23,290	37,911	86,638	2,749	63,118	1,000	3,493	2,157	314	450	6,824	843	3,832	2,028	7,215
	Madar Subdivisional figures	219,345	207,112	136,547	563,004	317,089	701,125	18,899	75,068	20,223	3,709	7,151	115,511	10,437	37,540	39,618	84,021
	District figures	664,437	656,259	709,027	2,029,723	572,670	1,447,068	46,673	946,903	41,600	27,451	58,435	341,700	19,034	14,794	86,586	207,314

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total cropped area, columns 9 to 12.	Total area, columns 3 and 12.	Irrigated area.	IRRIGATED AREA AND HOW IRRIGATED					DETAILS OF IRRIGATED AREA AS RECOVERED CROPS					NUMBER OF WHEELS.		REMARKS.
					Irrigated from wells.	Irrigated from canals.	Irrigated from private systems.	Irrigated from tanks and other small works.	Irrigated from other sources.	Rice.	Wheat.	Other dry land crops.	Other food crops.	Non-food crops.	Masonry.	Barthen.	
1	2	10	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1	Bagaha	197,440	306,973	7,009	13	1,260	71	5,488	8,030	27	215	25	91	708	61		
2	Shikarpur	109,177	354,508	11,204	80	294	4,207	1,180	6,443	7,164	31	1,724	341	427	712	31	
3	Bettia	107,000	350,131	600	504	42	157	187	81	62	33	167	30	347	214	10	
	Bettia Subdivisional figures	414,236	100,963	18,813	607	335	5,694	1,364	11,912	13,315	69	2,045	760	859	1,604	103	
4	Adapur	21,808	143,401	1,076	519	155	324	2,175	1,503	83	102	615	40	3,006	1,077	80	
5	Dhaka	36,680	214,528	2,012	154	171	2,815	1,100	1,116	25	103	183	187	2,112	1,416	95	
6	Motbari	53,843	186,190	1,044	72	14	62	143	164	115	24	265	278	425	428	24	
7	Gobindganj	51,702	187,089	37	9				27		11	10	10	2	480	5	
8	Kosaria	30,114	174,812												1,132	56	
9	Madhuban	15,048	78,906	9	3							2			641	17	
	Madar Subdivisional figures	217,921	178,846	9,601	756	182	644	4,120	3,100	223	246	1,018	143	6,245	5,040	277	
	District figures	624,147	2,079,515	27,423	1,412	617	6,308	5,714	14,312	13,538	876	3,003	1,312	7,404	6,908	395	

APPENDIX IV.

CROP STATEMENT.

(All areas in acres.)

Serial number of thana.	NAME OF THANA.	CEREALS AND PULSES.										OIL SEEDS.					Condiments and spices.	SUGAR.		FIBRES.				
		Rice.	Wheat.	Barley.	Jowar (millets).	Bajra (millets).	Manna.	Maida.	Gram.	Kodo.	Rauwa.	Other food grains not including pulses.	Linseed.	Til or popl.	Mustard.	Others.		Sugarcane.	Others.	Cotton.	Jute.	Mul.	Others.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1	Bagaha	111,826	10,775	24,901	105	142	1,409	22,962	2,874	15,017	8,641	26,606	19,079	435	1,420	450	1,450	8,569	45	54	7	804	62	
2	Shikarpur	19,700	19,556	14,168	19	30	1,807	5,183	13,971	3,007	1,480	31,637	15,013	314	3,009	7,031	8,511	1,082	119	70	80	134	88	
3	Bettia	118,607	28,738	30,630	4,562	3,312	4,027	23,067	4,419	17,101	6,818	21,600	6,650	2,675	1,700	2,413	1,009	1,034	640	1,140	200	427	1,003	
	Subdivisional figures.	429,433	68,079	69,699	4,763	3,723	7,238	67,312	20,864	35,125	15,948	80,233	34,046	3,431	5,140	13,501	3,461	9,605	619	1,204	400	1,095	1,117	
4	Adapur	103,130	6,407	24,691	150	37	2,374	1,430	5,654	2,114	9,483	21,411	6,911	30	335	360	107	5	2	2	16	4		
5	Dhaka	108,435	8,988	27,972	72	47	4,163	9,722	7,753	15,013	1,214	34,606	6,140	41	365	323	130	200	35	48	80	198	29	
6	Mothhari	66,310	9,063	32,667	540	148	222	12,518	2,161	14,714	3,150	18,713	6,350	400	718	478	348	191	97	230	34	70	104	
7	Gobindganj	45,346	10,392	20,150	101	44	8,315	15,761	170	20,774	3,400	13,251	4,829	1,379	484	9,818	270	401	13	295	64	400	170	
8	Koara	44,400	12,162	18,057	130	146	1,017	2,477	2,401	19,023	3,008	14,700	1,811	20	576	153	434	640	10	250	7	181	10	
9	Madhuban	20,293	3,034	11,219	144	25	215	8,090	170	5,021	1,008	15,070	2,418	64	216	302	498	58	31	1	110	14		
	Sadar Divisional figures.	327,258	51,186	143,100	1,301	455	9,883	71,470	10,207	7,908	11,901	118,719	29,835	1,706	2,424	9,105	2,077	1,725	216	697	170	1,130	330	
	District figures.	782,661	105,266	218,000	5,084	4,173	17,458	119,865	37,161	11,203	22,109	207,008	63,881	5,400	8,042	16,606	5,078	10,330	845	2,121	606	4,805	1,468	

Serial number of thana.	NAME OF THANA.	DYES.			DRUGS AND MEDICINES.					MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.										Area cropped in acres.	
		Indigo.	Safflower.	Others.	Opium.	T. leaves.	Indian hemp.	Others.	Food crops.	Residual.	Cashew.	Coconut.	Plantain.	Jack.	Guava.	Apple.	Orange.	Peach.	Other fruits.	Area cropped in acres.	Net area cropped in acres.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1	Bagaha	2,403	30	2,402	10	10	10	10	951	14,453	805	230	435	371	37	208,731	69,004	108,628	108,628	108,628	108,628
2	Shikarpur	1,445	49	2,000	200	200	200	200	47	10,000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
3	Bettia	18,004	734	401	8,015	1,044	24	23	306	10,000	7,111	1,40	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	Subdivisional figures.	20,312	817	461	13,017	2,244	24	23	1,011	14,453	9,005	2,411	9,130	1,134	8,090	946,724	209,081	690,740	690,740	690,740	690,740
4	Adapur	2,037	2	31	7,751	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Dhaka	17,501	1	16	10,000	73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	Mothhari	18,751	1	16	10,000	73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Gobindganj	18,107	1	16	10,000	73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	Koara	18,351	1	16	10,000	73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Madhuban	6,450	2	12	1,000	105	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Sadar Divisional figures.	75,758	68	434	30,777	445	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	District figures.	10,070	885	910	53,504	2,465	25	25	1,011	14,453	9,005	2,411	9,130	1,134	8,090	946,724	209,081	690,740	690,740	690,740	690,740

APPENDIX V.

Statement of tenants' agricultural stock.

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Cows.	Bulls and bullocks.	Male buffaloes.	Cow buffaloes.	Horses and ponies.	Cattle (including buffaloes and cows).	Sheep.	Goats.	Mules and donkeys.	Poultry.	Cattle.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Bagaha	70,656	46,197	8,646	10,870	2,850	29,176	4,151	11,893	1,437	18,650	3,751	
2	Shikarpur	77,358	50,573	3,721	12,429	2,612	25,445	8,703	18,108	1,790	21,004	4,113	
3	Bettia	89,547	59,628	4,782	18,015	7,722	1,103	1,103	14,005	1,088	23,747	1,100	
	Subdivisional figures.	2,07,851	104,694	11,150	103,624	9,184	59,865	15,015	61,896	3,895	61,096	8,266	
4	Adapur	10,505	26,339	1,054	8,370	1,956	1,904	641	17,779	739	18,116	1,504	
5	Dhaka	18,492	29,268	1,731	6,437	7,004	6,941	1,712	24,441	1,071	10,004	2,162	
6	Mothhari	17,768	16,411	839	6,531	1,344	810	500	11,854	753	4,754	470	
7	Gobindganj	16,367	10,371	1,036	6,994	1,054	2,000	7,100	10,000	400	6,000	4,000	
8	Koara	15,094	20,209	691	7,116	1,744	2,708	2,600	17,700	1,000	6,000	1,000	
9	Madhuban	8,411	8,045	473	3,046	1,000	2,104	200	8,200	200	8,500	600	
	Sadar Divisional figures.	90,291	118,242	5,642	40,131	9,947	27,504	11,000	60,000	3,500	30,000	1,000	
	District figures.	225,072	220,350	17,592	182,757	19,471	76,000	26,000	1,00,140	7,700	100,000	19,000	

Statement of Rights and Rents (terij gosha)

NAME OF TRACT.	PROPRIETOR'S PRIVATE LANDS (SIBAI.)				HELD BY PROPRIETORS BUT NOT SIBAI.				IN CULTIVATING PORTION OF THESE HOLDERS.				RAIYATS AT FIXED RENTS OR RAIYATS.						RAIYATS ON OCCUPANCY RAIYATS.					
	Number of hold-ings.	Area of cultivated lands.	Area of uncultivated lands.	Total area.	Number of hold-ings.	Area of cultivated lands.	Area of uncultivated lands.	Total area.	Number of hold-ings.	Area of cultivated lands.	Area of uncultivated lands.	Total area.	Total cultivating rents.	Average rate per cultivated acre.	Average rate per uncultivated acre.	Number of hold-ings.	Area of cultivated lands.	Area of uncultivated lands.	Total area.	Area of produce rents.	Total cultivating rents.	Average rate per cultivated acre.	Average rate per uncultivated acre.	
1	2	60	2	62	10	7,440	5	7,445	619	17,416	18	17,417	1,032	1,074	1 5 7	0 13 6	97,374	12,164	165,345	1,032	1,074	1 5 7	0 13 6	
2	11	477	47	524	1,568	33,660	18	33,668	1,568	33,660	18	33,668	1,568	1,516	1 5 7	0 13 6	47,374	12,164	165,345	1,568	1,516	1 5 7	0 13 6	
3	27	440	16	456	1,653	19,828	2,556	21,384	1,653	19,828	2,556	21,384	1,653	4,565	1 5 7	0 13 6	53,374	30,772	190,463	1,653	4,565	1 5 7	0 13 6	
4	88	948	18	966	3,967	68,995	2,397	71,392	3,967	68,995	2,397	71,392	3,967	6,843	1 1 10	0 13 6	146,973	45,840	531,386	3,967	6,843	1 1 10	0 13 6	
5	2	72	2	74	2,198	2,145	3	2,198	674	3,907	64	3,971	1,022	941	0 14 9	0 13 6	74,956	108,468	168,468	674	941	0 14 9	0 13 6	
6	254	3,734	113	3,847	7,543	7,543	0	7,543	7,543	7,543	0	7,543	7,543	7,543	0 14 9	0 13 6	74,956	108,468	168,468	7,543	7,543	0 14 9	0 13 6	
7	6	168	168	336	2,871	2,871	0	2,871	2,871	2,871	0	2,871	2,871	2,871	0 14 9	0 13 6	74,956	108,468	168,468	2,871	2,871	0 14 9	0 13 6	
8	223	3,441	223	3,664	9,918	9,918	0	9,918	9,918	9,918	0	9,918	9,918	9,918	0 14 9	0 13 6	74,956	108,468	168,468	9,918	9,918	0 14 9	0 13 6	
9	34	663	13	676	3,325	3,325	0	3,325	3,325	3,325	0	3,325	3,325	3,325	0 14 9	0 13 6	74,956	108,468	168,468	3,325	3,325	0 14 9	0 13 6	
10	281	3,794	163	3,957	18,414	145	18,559	18,559	18,559	18,559	0	18,559	18,559	18,559	1 6 1	1 6 1	177,398	61,048	618,945	18,559	18,559	1 6 1	1 6 1	
11	609	4,710	171	4,881	31,331	330	31,661	31,661	31,661	31,661	0	31,661	31,661	31,661	1 6 1	1 6 1	177,398	61,048	618,945	31,661	31,661	1 6 1	1 6 1	
12	609	4,710	171	4,881	31,331	330	31,661	31,661	31,661	31,661	0	31,661	31,661	31,661	1 6 1	1 6 1	177,398	61,048	618,945	31,661	31,661	1 6 1	1 6 1	

[illegible]

APPENDIX VII.

Transfer of proprietary rights.

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total area of village acquired into.	Number of trans- fers.	Area trans- ferred.	Percent- age of columns 3 to 5.	TO WHOM TRANSFERRED.				Share of land revenue trans- ferred (if given).	Price paid.	Average rate per acre of land trans- ferred.	Highest rate.	Lowest rate.	Remarks.
						Landlord class.	Lawyer class.	Money- lenders.	Rajpats.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
		Acres.		Acres.	%					Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
1	Bamha	780	2	80	12.00	1		1	...	...	2,407	20 3 10	260 0 0	20 15 8	
2	Shikarpur	426	1	220	54.22	1	...	...	...	...	1,200	6 10 6	4 10 8	...	
3	Botia	1,313	2	1,122	85.45	6	...	1	...	...	4,200	24 13 10	27 6 9	20 1 7	
4	Adegur	701	6	701	100	2	...	2	...	...	4,675	6 1 8	60 9 10	8 7 0	
5	Dhau	4,277	8	207	21.10	2	...	2	...	...	12,670	18 0 7	1,045 8 0	1 1 8	
6	Mothari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7	Gobindganj	1,207	2	270	22.31	2	...	1	...	18 4 10	7,100	10 4 0	22 2 6	1 12 8	
8	Kosaria	1,222	10	1,222	100	2	...	14	...	18 6 1	12,121	17 8 6	22 7 11	9 0 6	
9	Madhaban	2,202	14	1,724	78.14	6	...	6	...	22 5 3	69,792	4 8 1	4,000 0 0	5 9 0	
	District Average	12,577	81	6,912	54.91	24	...	27	...	70 0 2	1,61,008	22 0 1	4 000 0 0	1 1 8	

Transfer of occupancy rights of district Champaran.

Serial number.	NAME OF THANA.	Total number of villages in thana.	NUMBER OF TRANSFERS.			AREA OF ENTIRE HOLDING TRANSFERRED.			TOTAL AREA TRANSFERRED.			PERCENTAGE TO COLUMN 16.			PERCENTAGE TO COLUMN 17.			REMARKS.																																																																																	
			By sale.		Total.	By sale.		Total.	By sale.		Total.	By sale.		Total.	By sale.		Total.																																																																																		
			By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.	By sale.	By mortgage.	Total.																																																																																		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68																																

APPENDULA LA

* Kreds is generally checked 15 days after mailing.

* Kreds is generally checked 15 days after mailing.

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APPENDIX X.

Financial Statement of Settlement

MAIN SUB-HEADS OF BUDGET.	Expendi- ture, 1905-06.	Expendi- ture, 1906-07.	Expendi- ture, 1907-08.	Expendi- ture, 1908-09.	Expendi- ture, 1909-10.	Expendi- ture, 1910-11.	Expendi- ture, 1911-12.	Expendi- ture, 1912-13.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Pay and special allowance of— Settlement Officer Assistant Settlement Offi- cers.	Rs. A. P. 3,500 6 4 500 0 0	Rs. A. P. 30,175 4 8 11,500 8 10	Rs. A. P. 9,000 8 7 17,835 1 0	Rs. A. P. 10,800 10 8 30,007 11 3	Rs. A. P. 4,000 0 7 30,100 13 4	Rs. A. P. 3,700 8 1 16,427 0 10	Rs. A. P. 3,012 2 8 191,907 8 2	Rs. A. P. 1,500 0 0 1,500 0 0	Rs. A. P. 55,700 10 8 1,00,000 10 0	
2. Fixed establishment Temporary establishment Contract and job work	185 1 9 118 7 7	4,363 0 7 7,807 10 4	10,525 7 8 7,707 10 4	25,101 14 1 9,744 4 10	2,010 3 4 21,905 11 2	3,094 15 8 20,000 13 11	2,000 8 5 23,732 9 10	925 0 0 2,125 0 0	1,30,830 9 4 310 8 1	
3. Travelling allowance— Of officers Of establishment	300 8 0 300 8 0	4,340 8 0 4,340 8 0	6,734 14 6 6,734 14 6	8,507 9 0 8,507 9 0	8,143 5 5 95 2 0	3,454 1 1 103 12 0	3,304 4 0 130 13 0	271 4 0 32 14 0	30,841 13 0 32 14 0	
4. Supplies and services— Forms Tents Tetty construction repairs	... ... ... ...	... 9 8 8 4,807 12 0	... 50 10 9 1,178 0 0 6,450 9 10	... 673 13 0 3,380 0 11 ...	... ... ... ...	... ... ... ...	... 212 71 3 ... ...	... 33 7 0 ... ...	... 900 8 0 9,700 12 11 4,655 0 10	
5. Contingencies— Hot-weather charges Office rent Service telegrams postage charges Miscellaneous	136 5 6 136 5 6	8,610 12 1 8,610 12 1	3,764 8 6 3,764 8 6	4,877 2 6 4,877 2 6	154 5 10 48 13 0 221 18 0 9,220 4 0	180 14 0 10 8 0 24 4 8 8,938 4 0	183 15 9 48 11 0 9 60 5 0 5,900 0 8	15 8 9 ... 25 8 0 1,007 10 8	42,000 11 0	
Total	5,000 3 7	51,130 7 0	65,154 5 2	97,547 8 3	80,740 4 5	78,327 7 11	78,276 12 1	5,841 12 4	4,74,904 5 4	

* Includes travelling allowances of Settlement Officer.

† .. travelling allowances of Assistant Settlement Officer in charge.

General Statement of Expenditure and Receipt.

YEAR.	EXPENDITURE.					RECEIPT						
	Traverse survey.	Cadastral survey.	Record- writing.	Settlement.	Total.	Court-fee.	Miscellaneous.	Recovery of cost.				Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1905-06	Rs. 36,845*	...	...	Rs. A. P. 5,444 3 7	Rs. A. P. 52,603 8 7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1906-07	36,060*	...	...	51,120 7 0	1,37,079 7 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1907-08	35,000	70,004	20,194	66,154 6 8	1,93,075 8 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1908-09	10,000	51,070	50,000	97,347 3 3	3,48,340 8 5	83,787 9 0	2,148 11 0	11,500 0 0	...	...	...	4,64,910 11 8
1909-10	...	25,000	36,210	90,746 4 8	1,30,056 4 8	...	2,871 7 4	90,463 5 3	...	...	...	...
1910-11	...	...	...	78,837 7 11	78,837 7 11	...	4,100 1 4	2,40,443 10 0	104 8 0	...	...	...
1911-12	...	...	...	78,976 12 1	78,976 12 1	...	2,801 13 8	7,00,274 3 3	2,912 15 6	...	...	...
1912-13	...	...	...	5,341 12 4	5,341 12 4	...	191 10 0	9,155 8 0	102 8 6	2,00,000 9 10	...	...
1905-1900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1,37,900*	1,40,003	1,14,000	4,74,904 6 9	9,62,290 6 9	63,707 9 0	12,400 11 3	75,60,130 10 3	3,100 10 0	23,00,000 9 10	...	6,64,910 11 8

* Includes cost of cadastral survey and record-writing.

† excess collection, Rs. 504-7-5.

‡ Rs. 4,184-7-11 Kaiser-i-Hind.

DEPARTMENT OF LAND RECORDS AND AGRICULTURE,
BENGAL.

No. 478T.—S.

FROM P. C. BYON, Esq., I.C.S.,

*Director of the Department of Land Records
and Agriculture, Bengal,*

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, L.P.

Dated Darjeeling, the 31st October 1901.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to submit herewith the final report on the survey and settlement of the district of Champaran, by Mr. C. J. Stevenson-Moore, I.C.S., for the information and orders of the Board. This report was originally submitted to me in manuscript late in the year 1899, but its printing took a considerable time, and it was not received from the Press until December 1900. The accompanying report for the district of Muzaffarpur was not ready, however, until March in the present year, and I was not finally informed until the month of June that the orders of the Government of India, contained in Home Department Resolution No. ⁹⁴⁷/₁₀₀₃, dated 25th February 1901, for the abolition of intermediate reports, did not apply to my reviews of final settlement reports. Since that date the executive and administrative duties of my office, including two months on inspection work in the mufassal, have unfortunately prevented my dealing with these reports before the present date.

2. The Settlement Officer explains, in his introduction to the present report, that most of the larger questions connected with the settlement operations in North Bihar have been dealt with in full in the report for the district of Muzaffarpur. The present report is, therefore, concerned solely with the special features of the work which affected the Champaran district alone, and is accordingly comparatively brief. The report is lucid and excellently arranged. It is divided into two parts, in the first of which a general historical and descriptive sketch of the district is given, while the second contains a full account of the progress of the recent operations and an elaborate analysis of the statistical results obtained. I would venture to invite the special attention of the Board to Chapter IV of the first Part, in which a singularly clear and graphic account is given of the Land Revenue administration of Champaran up to the time of the initiation of the present proceedings, and to the same Chapter in Part II, in which a careful estimate is made of the actual material condition of the lower classes in the district, and cogent reasons are given for a belief that, in spite of the sparseness of the population, low rents, and comparatively large holdings, the agriculturists of this district are less prosperous than those of neighbouring districts in which these favourable conditions do not exist.

The Appendices to the report are brief, the bulk of the important statistics having been incorporated in the report itself.

In spite of the care with which the report was checked in proof, I regret to note that there are several misprints to be found in the text as well as in the tabular statements in the body of the report.

3. The earlier chapters of the report bring out clearly the important fact that in olden times Champaran (or *Champakaranya*, the jungle of wild *Champaks*) was an almost untrodden forest, the retreat of religious ascetics, and that its agricultural development is a matter of recent years. This fact, and the proximity of the district to the great Himalayan Terai, must be borne in mind

when the statistical results of the recent settlement proceedings are analysed. The rainfall is heavier than in other parts of Bihar; the district still enjoys an unenviable notoriety for unhealthiness, which is only half deserved; communications are still backward, though fast improving; the railway system is as yet but partially developed; the raiyats are poor agriculturists; irrigation is almost unknown, and even the ubiquitous native trader conducts his operations with but little of his usual commercial activity. The report incidentally emphasises, in more than one place, the great advantages that would accrue to the district from the construction of railway lines from Bairagnia, in the Muzaffarpur district, through the north of the Champaran district, to Bagaha on the river Gandak, and from Bettiah to the same place. Both are merely extensions of the existing system of the Tirhut State Railway, and both would do much to open out a tract which is at present especially liable to famine.

4. In Chapter III of Part I, and again in Chapter IV of Part II, Mr. Stevenson-Moore deals with the population of the district, and shows how greatly it is dependent upon agriculture. The ultimate result of his enquiries is to demonstrate that out of a population estimated in 1891 at 1,859,465, no fewer than 57 per cent. are pure cultivators, 7 per cent. unite cultivation with other pursuits, 21 per cent. are labourers owning a little land, and 9 per cent. are landless labourers, leaving only 6 per cent. of the population wholly unconnected with the land. The Settlement Officer has referred in several places in his report to the severity of the famine of 1896-97, and his estimate of the widespread distress caused by it has received melancholy confirmation in the statistics of the census of the present year, which show a decrease of 69,000 in the population of the district, representing a proportion of over 3 per cent. The careful calculations made in this report for the purpose of illustrating the material condition of the bulk of the population of the district cannot fail to be of considerable interest to the Census authorities, and the detailed figures for the district will possibly throw light on the difficult question—which is called by the author of the report—"the problem of Champaran"—why this tract, which enjoys several marked advantages, should feel the pinch of famine so soon and so severely.

5. The records of the earlier settlements made in this district, before it came into our possession, are insufficient to give any clear idea of its progress. In the settlement of Raja Todar Mull, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, 90,424 acres are said to have been assessed to a revenue of Rs. 1,37,835, giving the high incidence of Re. 1-6 per acre, but it seems uncertain that this area included even all the cultivated land of the district. About a century later, in 1685, this revenue was raised to Rs. 2,10,150, but in 1750 it was again reduced by a few thousand rupees. It is difficult to ascertain what the actually assessed revenue of the district was when we took over the district in 1765, but it appears to have stood at something about 2 lakhs, although the settlement made by Hoshiyar Jung in 1773 would appear to have been much lower and little above that of Todar Mull. In the course of his account of the subsequent revenue history of the district, Mr. Stevenson-Moore points out how closely it was bound up with the history of the Bettiah Raj, and how the four great families of the district, now holding the Bettiah, Ramnagar, Madhuban and Shiuhar properties, came into existence. In the decennial settlement of 1791 the revenue appears to have been settled at Rs. 3,98,253, and the actual permanent settled revenue of two years later is returned as Rs. 3,85,587. The Settlement Officer deals but briefly with the general effects of the permanent settlement on the landlords and tenants, but goes more fully into the subsequent results of the proceedings. The present revenue of the district is Rs. 5,15,803, assessed upon a cultivated area of 1,447,874 acres, and emphasis is laid in the report upon the fact that while the cultivated area appears to have increased fifteen-fold since the time of Akbar, the revenue has increased but four-fold, and the incidence of that revenue has fallen from Re. 1-6 per cultivated acre to annas 5-8.

6. A full account is given in the report of the general progress of the survey and settlement proceedings, and it will be unnecessary for me to refer to them at any great length. The total area of the district is 3,531 square miles, of which 3,260 square miles were dealt with in these proceedings, 250

square miles of jungle in the north-west of the district being excluded from the operations, and 30 square miles—belonging to the criminal jurisdiction of Saran—being taken up by us as part of that district. The traverse survey was commenced by a professional party in 1891-92 and was practically completed in 1894-95, with the exception of an area of 886 square miles in the diaras of the Gandak river which was traversed in 1895-96. The cadastral survey and preliminary record-writing was also carried out by the Survey of India Department, in close co-operation with the Settlement authorities. It was commenced in 1892-93 by one camp, which was reinforced by a second camp in 1894-95, and the work was completed in 1895-96. The attestation of the records was initiated experimentally in 1892-93, and commenced in earnest in the following year. It should have been completed in the year 1896-97, but progress was checked by the famine of that year, and it did not come to an end until 1897-98. Case work continued for a year after the completion of attestation, during which year also the main work of recovery of the costs was brought to a close, and the records of the settlement were handed over to the Collector. The final report was submitted, as has been already noted, in the course of the year 1899. Colonel Sandeman, as Director of Bengal Surveys, at first superintended the survey operations, and was succeeded by Captain Crichton, as Superintendent of Settlement-Surveys, Bengal, who held that post up to the conclusion of the operations. Mr. E. G. Colvin, I.C.S., was Settlement Officer from 1892 to March 1896, with a brief interval of eight months in 1895, when I took up the work in addition to my duties in Muzaffarpur. From March 1896 to June 1899, Mr. Stevenson-Moore was in charge of the operations as Settlement Officer in North Bihar with Mr. J. H. Kerr, I.C.S., as Assistant Settlement Officer in general charge of the district operations, under him.

7. The Settlement Officer has dealt fully with all matters of importance connected with the preliminary record-writing and the attestation of the records in his report on the proceedings in Muzaffarpur, and touches them but lightly in the present report. I would invite the attention of the Board, however, to the strenuous effort that was made, at the commencement of the operations, to utilize the patwaris as amins for the writing up of the record. The attempt, although made in an area more favourable to it than could be found in any other part of Bihar, completely failed, and this negative result has proved most useful as a practical and final demonstration of the impossibility of making use of the patwaris created by Regulation XII of 1817 for independent revenue work. There were comparatively few boundary disputes—only 988 as compared with 1,475 in a smaller area in Muzaffarpur—and the work of attesting the records proved comparatively simple, such difficulties as were met with being due more to the apathy and ignorance of the raiyats than to any other cause. There being an abundance of land for cultivation in most parts of the district, disputes as to possession were few, and the proceedings were greatly assisted by the fact that considerable areas are held by indigo-planters, whose books and village accounts were always open to our inspection, and were almost invariably admitted by all parties to be correct.

8. From the very commencement of our operations it became obvious that the settlement of fair rents under section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act would form a more important stage of our proceedings in Champaran than in other districts in North Bihar, and Mr. Stevenson-Moore has rightly devoted special attention to this subject in his report, paragraphs 259 and 260, of which give a full and careful account of this work. Rent-rates are low, land is abundant, and there is more competition among landlords for tenants than among tenants for holdings, while at the same time the landlords are for the most part above resort to the oppressive and illegal methods common among the petty proprietors of Muzaffarpur for the enhancement of rents, and look to the law to assess rents for them, at the time of settlement, on excess lands that have hitherto escaped all assessment. The result was that a very large number of applications for the enhancement of rent were filed, and a considerable proportion of them were successful, as the following figures will show; but as the great majority of these applications were merely for the assessment of excess areas to rent, and as in very few cases only has there been any enhancement of rent rates, the incidence of rents per acre of assessed

land has been scarcely affected at all. Out of 364,659 holdings in the district, 118,413 or 32·4 per cent. were brought under settlement of fair rents through applications made by landlord or tenant (chiefly, of course, by the landlord). In the case of 63 per cent. of these holdings the rent was enhanced, in 23 per cent. the existing rent was settled as the fair rent, in 13 per cent. the applications were withdrawn, and in 0·24 per cent. the rent was reduced. The existing rental of the holdings affected by these proceedings was Rs. 9,33,939, and this was raised by Rs. 91,781 to Rs. 10,25,720. Out of this increase a sum of Rs. 90,209 was obtained by the landlords, under the provisions of section 52 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, by the assessment of excess areas to rent, and it is noticeable that, of the total rental settled in the course of these proceedings, 75 per cent. was determined by compromise between the parties, and only 19 per cent. by the Court in contested suits. The rents of the holdings affected were raised on the whole by 9·8 per cent., but the rental of the district was raised by 3·9 per cent. only. I do not think that this can be held, in the special circumstances of the district, to be a result in any way inequitable to the tenants, although, in view of the somewhat gloomy account that is given in the report of the material condition of the cultivating classes, it must be a matter for congratulation that the rent roll has not been more substantially enhanced.

9. It is unnecessary to follow the Settlement Officers detailed account of the history of the more important matters that affected our settlement of rents in this district, but I would invite the attention of the Board to the paragraphs dealing with the treatment of compromises and with the question of the calculation of the excess area upon which additional rent should be assessed. In the matter of compromises the views of the Settlement Department were accepted, in spite of an adverse opinion from the Legal Remembrancer, by the Special Judge and by the High Court, and have now been emphasised by the legislature, with the full consent of all parties concerned, in the recent amendments to the Bengal Tenancy Act. In the matter of excess areas the Settlement Department's view has also prevailed, after much controversy and through many appeals, and the equity of making an allowance of area, to cover disparities in the lengths of the measuring rods used at different times and differences in the method of measurement, is not now, I believe, contested. Mr. Stevenson-Moore shows in his report how valuable the work done by Mr. Colvin was at this stage of the proceedings, and to how great an extent the equitable nature of the principles finally adopted as the basis of our rent settlement proceedings is due to him.

10. The remaining stages of the operations afford little that is worth special comment. The objections summarily decided by the settlement staff numbered 12,432, giving a percentage of 3·10 on the total number of holdings in the district. Of these about 45 per cent. concerned the entries of existing rents, 20 per cent. dealt with entries as to possession, and 15 per cent. with entries as to trees. The suits filed under section 106 of the Bengal Tenancy Act and tried under the Code of Civil Procedure numbered 3,251 or scarcely 1 per cent. of the number of holdings. Over 2,000 of these related to rent disputes, and it was in this stage of the proceedings that the oppressive dealings of the Madhuban Babu with his tenantry became more especially noticeable. The office work that was involved in the completion of the records was not so great as that which had to be carried through in Muzaffarpur; but over three hundred and sixty thousand *khatians* had to be dealt with, containing over eight million eight hundred thousand plots, in two thousand eight hundred and forty villages, and the number of temporary muharrirs employed on this work in the Motihari office rose sometimes to over six hundred.

11. The account of the work of recovery of the costs of the operations which is given by the Settlement Officer in Chapter V of Part II might perhaps have been introduced earlier in the Report. It had been estimated that the total expenditure on survey and settlement proceedings would amount to annas 8 per acre of the area dealt with, and this cost was apportioned in the proportions of annas 2 against Government, annas 3 pies 6 against landlords and annas 2 pies 6 against tenants and occupiers. The actual sum computed for recovery amounted to Rs. 7,85,382 or Rs. 7,195 more than the sum obtainable at the acreage rate, the excess being due

to the working of the rule that the minimum charge on any holding should be annas 2 pies 8, and to the provision that, in the case of holdings above one acre in area, fractions of half an acre and less would be disregarded and higher fractions taken as one acre. I may note here that the figures in paragraph 602 require some explanation, the reason for the apparent excess in the sum apportioned upon the landlords being that this amount includes the large sum paid by those landlords for waste lands and lands in their own cultivation, for which they paid both the landlords' and the tenants' shares. The recovery proceedings have been wholly successful, although there was some delay in the realisation of the sums due from the Bettiah and Ramnagar estates. A small sum of Rs. 180 was written off as irrecoverable, and the large balance which was handed over to the Collector for recovery at the end of our proceedings has since been satisfied almost in full, the present balance standing at Rs. 161 only. The circumstances of the Champaran district made recovery work much simpler than in the district of Muzaffarpur, the only complications being due to the difficulty found in adjusting advances made by the landlords in the earlier stages of the operations and to the absence of current coin in the north of the district, where all financial transactions appear to be conducted by the people through the medium of "dummy" or *lohia* pice, one hundred and twelve of which are said to go to the rupee. The cost of the operations amounted to about Rs. 30,000, or 5·4 per cent. of the actual recoveries made by the Settlement Department; but this percentage will be much reduced if the total recoveries made up to date are added in, the subsequent realisations from the Bettiah Raj and other landlords having cost very little to make. I may note here that as the cost of the survey and settlement operations in the north of the district fell short of the estimate, the total expenditure actually incurred, less the miscellaneous recoveries made in the course of the proceedings in the shape of court, remeasurement and copying fees, &c., amounted to about annas seven per acre only. Government has benefited by this reduction of expenditure and has ultimately paid a smaller sum as its share of the cost of the proceedings than would otherwise have been the case.

11. On pages 94 and 95 of his report Mr. Stevenson-Moore touches upon the subject of the maintenance of the records, and notes the failure of Act III (B.C.) of 1895 to effect its purpose in this respect. This subject is still under the consideration of Government, and need not be further referred to here. The essentials of any scheme of maintenance or periodical revision of the records in Bengal are that the work shall be done on the ground and shall not depend on the initiative of the people themselves, and that the modifications made from time to time in the Record-of-Rights shall be attested by responsible officers and be given the same evidential value as the original entries in that Record. It is much to be hoped that any scheme that may be adopted will include provision for these two cardinal necessities.

12. This review would extend to needless length were I to submit to the Board all the comments that are invited by the most interesting paragraphs on the statistical information derived from the settlement proceedings which have been included by Mr. Stevenson-Moore in his report. This information is dealt with by him very fully and in natural sequence, the total area of the district being first considered, then the classification of that area as cultivated, uncultivated, and unfit for cultivation, the extension of cultivation during the period of British occupation being incidentally dealt with, the crops that occupy the land come next, and the Settlement Officer pays attention to the status of the cultivators, the size of their holdings, and the rents paid by them, while the chapter closes with some interesting figures as to the transfer of holdings. The expansion of cultivation in the district is carefully considered in the earlier part of this chapter, and it is shown that whereas less than one-twentieth of the district was under cultivation in the time of Akbar, and only one-fourth at the commencement of British occupation, the cultivated area amounts at the present time to 70 per cent. of the whole. The tables dealing with crops give interesting figures comparing the areas under each crop in Champaran with those under the same crops in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Azimgarh, Gorakhpur, Ballia and Gaya, as compiled from cadastral records, and it is shown that a larger percentage of the total area in this district is under rice than in any of its neighbours, while the areas

under indigo and opium are also both actually and proportionately greater. There can be little doubt that these last two crops afford the raiyat some security against the failure of the great rice crop, but opium is itself a precarious crop, and it is not tended in Champaran with the care that secures to the agriculturists of other districts so much profit from its cultivation.

13. I would invite the attention of the Board to the interesting paragraphs on "Status" on pages 123 to 130 of the Report, and the noticeable figures that are given to show what a large proportion of the cultivated area of the district is held by tenants possessing occupancy and settled rights under the Bengal Tenancy Act. On page 124, Mr. Stevenson-Moore gives a most apposite quotation from the late Dr. W. W. Hunter's Statistical Account of Champaran, which shows how much the Bengal Tenancy Act, combined with our present operations, has done to establish the rights of the cultivators of this district, while the statistics given on the following page compare the status figures for Champaran with those of several neighbouring districts greatly to the advantage, on the whole, of Champaran. If the figures given as to rents and rent-rates on page 131 of the report are taken into consideration in conjunction with these figures for status, we have still further reason to believe that the position of the Champaran raiyat is in many respects better than that of any of his neighbours.

14. In the interesting paragraphs on the transfer of occupancy rights the Settlement Officer gives figures for the transfers that took place in the ten years preceding the operations in a considerable proportion of the area of the district. These figures are compared with the similar figures obtained for the district of Muzaffarpur, and demonstrate emphatically the different economic conditions of the two districts. The whole subject of transfers, the harm done by them, and the possibility or advisability of restricting them, have been considered recently by the Board and by Government in a separate correspondence, and in the course of that correspondence attention has been drawn to the necessity of differentiating between Champaran and the other districts of Bihar. Whereas in Muzaffarpur, in an area of 850,000 acres, the transfers numbered 14,500 only, we find nearly 36,000 transfers in one million acres of Champaran, and while in Muzaffarpur 79 per cent. of the transfers were made to fellow-raiyats, and only 13 per cent. to money-lenders but 55 per cent. of the Champaran transfers were made to fellow-raiyats and no fewer than 41 per cent. were made to money-lenders. It is obvious that these striking figures demand the careful scrutiny of all who are interested in the material condition of the cultivators of this district.

15. In a brief chapter on indigo (Chapter III of Part II) Mr. Stevenson-Moore discusses the statistics of the cultivation of that crop, the systems under which it is cultivated, and the advantages of its cultivation to the administration, to the cultivators, and to the labourers of the district. This subject has been dealt with more fully in the corresponding chapter of the Muzaffarpur report, and I would only note here that I am doubtful whether the Settlement Officer has estimated sufficiently highly the very considerable advantages which the cultivator derives from the regularity in the payments made to him for indigo, from the excellent management of their estates and tenures by the indigo planters, and from the fact that rents have been kept down to a minimum by the lease of considerable areas in the Bettiah Raj to the community. There is good reason to consider that the cultivation in the district of Champaran has been of great benefit to the community as well as to the labourer, and although defects in management occasionally rendered this cultivation unpopular in a few places, its relinquishment would, I believe, be a matter for much regret.

16. Chapter IV of Part II, to which I have already invited the special attention of the Board, contains a most interesting review of the material condition of the mass of the population of this district, and should be read with the exhaustive report on the famine of 1896-1897, which was submitted by Mr. D. J. Macpherson, C.I.E., who was then Collector of the district. The recent census figures, when available in detail, will prove interesting reading in this connection and will probably confirm the view taken by both Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Stevenson-Moore as to the low place in the scale of well-being which this district really

occupies. While, as I have noted above, elements of prosperity doubtless exist in the fertility of the soil, the sparseness of the population, and the moderate rent-roll, we have on the other side still more potent factors in the comparative unhealthiness of large tracts in the north of the district, the inferior standard of cultivation, the absolute dependence of the population upon agriculture for a subsistence, and the want of communications and consequent stagnation of trade. The increase in the population that may be hoped for in the next ten years, the extension of the railway system (to be accompanied, perhaps, by an improvement in its management), the development of irrigation projects in the north of the district, and a gradual improvement in communications may be looked to for some amelioration of the circumstances of the people of Champaran in the future, but the recommendations that the last of the Famine Commissions has made, for the partial protection of the people from famine by the encouragement of agricultural development and the establishment of agricultural banks, would appear to be especially applicable to the present condition of the district.

17. I venture to ask the attention of the Board, in conclusion, to the noticeable services that have been rendered to Government by the officers who were employed in carrying out the operations that have been reviewed above. The work done by Colonel Sandeman, Mr. W. C. Macpherson, Captain Crichton, and Mr. Stevenson-Moore himself may be more conveniently dealt with in connection with the exhaustive report on the general operations in North Bihar which is contained in the Muzaffarpur Final Report, but the Board will perhaps note with appreciation the excellence of the recent report, its conciseness, and the ability with which the important statistics derived from the operations have been handled.

The whole of the work of initiating the proceedings, organising field, office and case work fell upon Mr. E. G. Colvin, I.C.S., who was Settlement Officer from the inception of the proceedings in 1892 until the commencement of the recovery of the costs in the year 1896, with but one break of less than nine months—a break necessitated to some extent by failure of health due to the severity of the work. To Mr. Colvin's ability, zeal and foresight the success of our proceedings is in great measure due, and the people of the district are indebted to him for the care with which differences were adjusted between landlord and tenant in matters of the greatest importance to both.

Of the assistants to the Settlement Officer, Mr. J. H. Kerr, I.C.S., is by far the most prominent, and I venture cordially to endorse Mr. Stevenson-Moore's acknowledgment of the value of "his knowledge of the district and its landowners, his commonsense and unflinching tact" in the solution of all the difficulties of the work. Mr. Kerr has since succeeded Mr. Stevenson-Moore as Settlement Officer in North Bihar, in which responsible capacity his ability and his energy have proved even more notable than in his work in Champaran. Pandit Rama Balabh Misra rendered admirable service in all departments of the work, and Maulvi Syed Ahmad Ali Khan, besides labouring with credit throughout other stages of the settlement proceedings, accomplished the difficult task of settling the differences between the Madhuban Babu and his tenantry thoroughly and well. Babu Hemanto Kumar Maitra proved a good assistant in many ways, and was particularly successful in his conduct of the recovery proceedings, and Maulvi Gholam Ghaur and Babu Hem Chandra Chatterji, whose names will be brought to the notice of the Board in connection with the proceedings in the district, also rendered good service in Champaran. I beg also to identify myself with the Settlement Officer in his "special acknowledgment" of the advice and co-operation received from Mr. E. R. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association, and Mr. J. R. Lewis, Manager of the Bettiah Raj.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P. C. LYON,

*Director of the Department of Land Records
and Agriculture, Bengal*

